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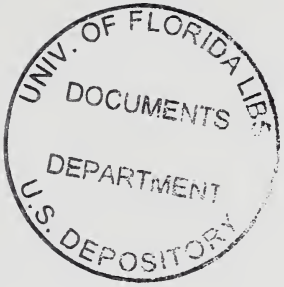

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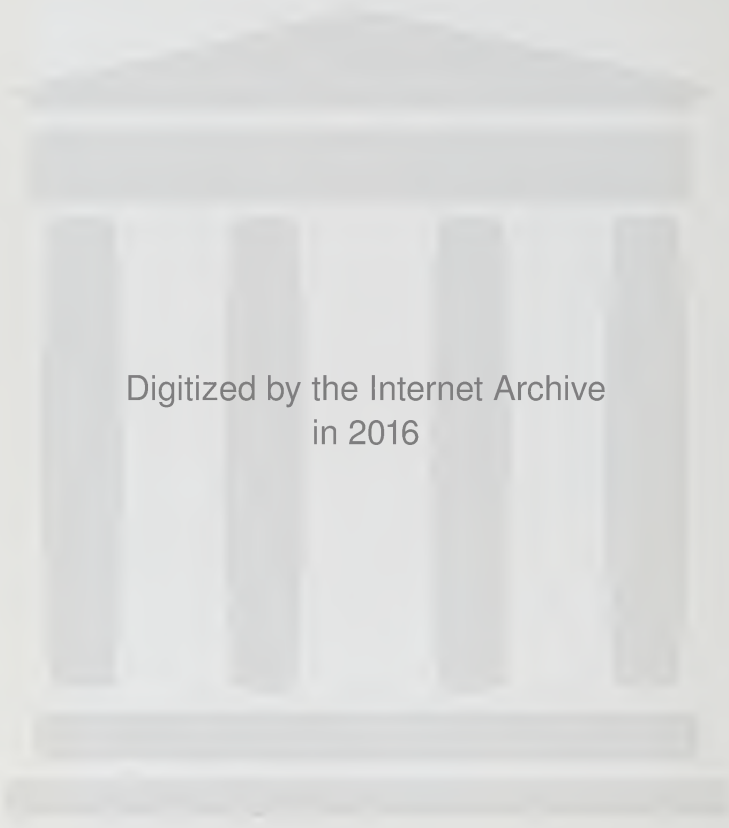
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Memorial Services

Held in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, together with tributes presented in eulogy of

William F. Ryan

Late a Representative from New York

Ninety-second Congress

Second Session

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Biography

William Fitts Ryan was born in Albion, Orleans County, N.Y., June 28, 1922; attended the Albion schools; graduated from Princeton University in 1947 and the Columbia Law School in 1949; was admitted to the bar and commenced the practice of law in New York, N.Y., in 1949; assistant district attorney, New York County, 1950–57 and 1957–61; during World War II served in the U.S. Army in the 32d Infantry Division as an artillery officer with the rank of first lieutenant from 1943 to 1946, in the South Pacific; delegate, Democratic National Convention, 1968; elected as a Democrat to the 87th and to the five succeeding Congresses and served from January 3, 1961, until his death in New York, N.Y., September 17, 1972; interment in St. Thomas Church Cemetery, Croom, Md.

MEMORIAL SERVICES

FOR

WILLIAM F. RYAN

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *September 18, 1972.*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

I turn my face to the Lord God, seeking Him by prayer and supplications with fasting.—Daniel 9 : 3.

Eternal God, our rock of refuge in every age and our strength for the present hour, we come before Thee realizing that we have mishandled the life Thou hast entrusted to us. We have done those things we ought not to have done and have left undone those things we ought to have done. As we survey our past, we are filled with shame that we have fallen so short of Thy high purposes for our lives and we have failed to use wisely the gifts Thou has so abundantly bestowed upon us. Humbly we make our confession to Thee.

Now with prayer and fasting we ask that Thou wilt create in us clean hearts and renew a right spirit within us. Strengthen us in our resolve to mend our ways, to serve our country more faithfully, and to trust Thee more fully. Thus may we become more worthy of Thy love.

We pray for the family of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN who has entered the larger life with Thee. Comfort them with Thy presence and strengthen them for this hour and for the days that lie ahead. May the memory of this good man, our colleague, linger long in our hearts.

In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I have the sad task of advising the Members of the House that our distinguished colleague from New York, the Honorable WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, passed away last night at 8 o'clock in the New York City Memorial Hospital.

I think all of us recognize that BILL RYAN was in many respects one of the most courageous and conscientious Members of this body. We can all recall in early August his appearance in this Chamber, in spite of the illness that subsequently was to take his life, in order to be able to vote on the vital end-the-war amendment that appeared in the foreign aid bill pending just before the recess.

This was typical of BILL RYAN because whatever he set his heart to, whatever he felt was important, he pursued that end and objective regardless of the effort or the involvement that might be incurred. In fact, one of the remarkable things about BILL RYAN was that, even during the rather bitter primary contest that he was involved in earlier this year in June, he maintained that remarkable attendance record of his in this body even during that time.

In fact, all of us who knew BILL RYAN recognized that during the past few years, as his illness did take its gradual toll on his health and his great capabilities, he demonstrated remarkable courage, with never a single concern for himself or for his own feelings. In spite of the limitations that his illness gradually placed upon him and the special efforts that were required for his participation in debate, he nevertheless was constantly on the job, constantly following through on the measures in which he believed, in spite of the demands of his illness, and the pain that he must have been suffering.

Congressman BILL RYAN was a New York City man. In fact, he was at one time the reform candidate for mayor for the city of New York—and yet his first home was in my part of the State, from upstate New York. His father was presiding judge for many years of the New York State Court of Claims. His birthplace was in Albion, N.Y., where he was born in 1922—in Orleans County, a county where my own home was located for many years.

BILL RYAN was the first of the "reformers" from New York City to come to this body. In fact, he was a successful exponent of the "new politics" long before anybody used that phrase, or even before people knew just what the "new politics" really meant.

I remember first meeting BILL RYAN in 1958 at the Democratic State Convention in Buffalo when there was then, as so often marked our party conventions in New York in subsequent years, a rather bitter controversy in connection with the nomination for U.S. Senate

that in some sense shaped the future of our party in New York for many years to come.

BILL RYAN was leading the so-called reform delegation from New York City on the floor of that convention that year in what proved to be a rather historic battle. I remember it well, for I had just been nominated for Congress myself following a rather difficult primary battle against the established party organization in the State and in my own five-county district. We met at that time and found we shared a good many common interests. BILL told me then that he intended to run for Congress, and 2 years later, of course, in 1960 he was successful in being elected to Congress as the first member of the so-called reform movement from New York City, more exactly called the New York State Committee for Democratic Voters. That committee began its effort to take over the representation in Congress from New York State in 1960—and we are all aware that today, 12 years later, it has succeeded in winning an impressive majority of those New York City congressional seats. It was BILL RYAN who set the pattern and led the way.

BILL RYAN came to this Chamber, as we are all aware, as what might be regarded as an antiboss, anti-Establishment Congressman, and a strong supporter of the full liberal philosophy in the Democratic Party. In this House he was one of the leaders of the Democratic Study Group, and a strong believer and strong exponent of its philosophy.

He was also one of the most tireless workers in Congress. I do not know anyone in the years I have been here who has worked harder and who spoke out more frequently in support of the things in which he believed. And he was one Member who certainly did his homework. I am sure you recall seeing him, as I do, sitting in the forward sections of the Chamber even late into the afternoon during the special order period writing out his remarks by hand or correcting his Record copy, to make certain that his views on the issues in which he believed were properly recorded in the Record. He was certainly not hesitant about standing up and speaking out for the things in which he believed.

There is no question about the fact for example, that he was one of the first to speak out in opposition to the Vietnam war. I know that because I defeated him on that subject on more than one oc-

casion. He was one who we remember also took his "lumps" in this Chamber for opposing the established organization. For many years he remained on a committee which was not his first choice. Even though he watched Members who were senior to him achieve membership on committees on which he wanted to be a member, he remained on that committee and eventually had to appeal to the Democrats the committee assignment to which he believed he was entitled.

Yet it is also true, and we remember this especially today, I am sure, that BILL RYAN was a really "sweet" guy, a person whose views might often be different from ours and yet one who always was friendly, cordial, pleasant, never nasty, never bitter in debate, never belligerent, a person with whom one could disagree and yet invariably, day in and day out, would never find disagreeable.

He came to the Congress in 1961 as in a sense a political outsider: The idea that anyone could take on the powerful Democratic organization in New York City and upset it and come to Congress was something really new. Yet in the 12 years that BILL RYAN served here we can truly say he won the respect, admiration, and affection of every single Member of this body.

We all knew last August, when BILL RYAN made that very difficult and courageous journey down here from New York City to be able to vote on the resolution about which he felt so strongly, that except for a miracle he would not be coming back to this Chamber. Yet I know we all hoped that miracle would somehow occur. Today we realize that miracle did not in fact occur. And so in sorrow and yet in pride we salute our fallen colleague and friend, who can be truly said to have died in the service of his country, gallant and courageous to the end.

As Franklin D. Roosevelt once said of another great Democrat in New York State, Al Smith, I believe we can also say of BILL RYAN:

> This was the happy warrior; this was he whom every man in arms would wish to be.

Mr. Speaker, to his parents and to his lovely wife Priscilla and to his four wonderful children I extend on behalf of my wife, Joan, and myself our deepest sympathy in this very dark hour of their loss.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, there is very little one can add to the beautiful statement the gentleman from New York has made about our late beloved colleague. The words that he has used are words I think everyone of us would subscribe to. BILL RYAN was indeed conscientious, he was indeed courageous, he was indeed dedicated, he was indeed probably the hardest working Member of this body. It is true too that BILL RYAN was vitally interested in the affairs of the city of New York and the State of New York, and he was also equally interested in the affairs of the Nation.

BILL RYAN was a remarkable man in many ways. I like best the gentleman's description of BILL RYAN's ability to disagree quite passionately and yet never be disagreeable. All of us will miss him here. He made an enormous contribution to this body. As the gentleman from New York said, BILL RYAN did his home work and when he engaged in debate he knew about the subject he was discussing.

He died as I presume we would wish to die—although none of us want to die—serving his country. I am happy that his colleagues and his constituency, many of whom must have known his life would not be prolonged, gave him the great distinction of returning him to this body despite that knowledge. I join with the gentleman from New York and other Members of the distinguished New York delegation in extending to BILL RYAN's family and to all of those who knew and loved him our deepest sympathy and regret.

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, there was no one in the House of Representatives for whom I had greater respect or more affection than WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. No one who has sat in this body during the past few years could have failed to observe the fact that BILL was deteriorating physically, nor could anyone have failed to marvel at his unflagging spirit, courage, and good humor.

BILL and I went to the same college at the same time, and we went to the same law school at the same time, but I never really got to know him until we came to Congress together in January 1961. We fought over many things and we frequently laughed together that two people with the same educational background, in the same political party, from the same State, could have held such widely divergent views and philosophies. BILL was a crusading liberal and I was not. But I learned many things from him. First of all, I learned to respect him as a fighter. BILL would stand up for the underdog, for the

oppressed, for the poor, for the minorities, for the deprived and condemned on this earth, for justice for all mankind, even if he had to stand alone. Fearsome odds never deterred him, and he was without doubt a man ahead of his time, for he espoused causes which were unpopular, and by the time they became popular he was already espousing new causes. Again, ahead of his time.

Despite his failing health, BILL maintained one of the best voting and attendance records in the entire Congress of the United States, right up until the time of his final illness. But it was not only his presence here that counted; it was the things he was doing and saying.

His mind was such that he made all of us think more deeply, and his manner was such that even when we disagreed with him wholly, we liked him and respected him. He served as a conscience for this Congress, and he did it without ever putting any other Member of this House down, or downgrading them in any way.

He probably lost far more battles here than he ever won, because he was, as I said, ahead of his time. Yet, even as he was losing those battles, he was changing the thinking of a nation. Now he has lost one more battle and his voice will be heard no more in this Chamber.

Those of us who knew and loved the man, however, will always remember that voice. When it was younger and stronger it spoke out loud and clear against the brutality of war and of poverty and of hunger and of disease, and as it became huskier, it continued to speak out against man's injustice to man, and for the rights of the down-trodden. And finally, when it could only whisper, it whispered things that all of us should be shouting. It whispered that war was bad and peace was good, and that hunger and disease and poverty were unnecessary and immoral.

To his wife, Priscilla, and to his children we can only express our sorrow, and be grateful for the fact that we and they have had the privilege to know and live with and work with a gentleman, a gentle man, but above all, a man.

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the members of the New York City delegation, of which BILL RYAN was such a valued member, may I inform my colleagues that there are a number

of our Members who cannot be here today because they are observing the religious holiday of Yom Kippur. I am informed that the dean of the House, Mr. Emanuel Celler, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, on which BILL served so valiantly and so well, will be reserving a special order later in the week so that all Members who wish to do so may join in tribute to his memory.

I believe it is important and significant that we here today, shocked as we are at the news of his passing and our loss, express ourselves at this time about WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

Seeking words which I believe would best befit his character, his ability, his courage and his compassion, I would choose these. WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was a foremost American, a foremost man. When he had to stand alone, he stood alone. When his voice was crying out and giving from the heart, to speak to the principles in which he believed—principles of peace, of justice, of dignity—it did not matter to BILL RYAN that his was the only voice that spoke; it mattered that the message was sincere and that the issue had to be raised.

BILL RYAN came to this Congress as well prepared as any man who ever entered this Chamber. My colleague from New York (Mr. Pike) has related to his career of academic distinction.

In the law, as he learned to love the law, BILL RYAN had served with great promise in what some have called the finest law office for justice in our country, the District Attorney's Office of New York County under District Attorney Frank Hogan. In that office I have learned from many of his colleagues who served with him that he was outstanding, that his knowledge and ability were surpassing.

Hence he came here prepared to know the law, to write the law, and to improve the law for all people.

I do not believe it needs to be stated over and over again that he was a foremost man, because before most of us—in fact, before any of us—he began with one voice to try to teach the people of this country what he believed to be the error of our ways. Whether it be in the organization of our political system, so that more could benefit from that system, he was before most of us. Whether it be on the need for peace—true generation of peace, if you will, a lasting peace—he saw that nonviolence was the road we had to travel. He was, foremost, before most of us.

We worked together in many campaigns in New York City, in New York State, and for this country, and BILL was always on the winning side, no matter how the votes were counted.

I believe we all know now his support of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy—and he was an early supporter of both—proves he was on the winning side, no matter what was the result of the vote as it was counted.

He was on the winning side, the side that must and will win, on the great issues of our times—on the need for more equality in housing, the need for decent standards in employment, and the application of nondiscrimination to government policies. That became the winning side. It is the law today.

BILL was among the first to raise that issue, before most of us—before any of us, in terms of the amendment he sponsored.

He was unflagging in his determination to seek justice to see justice triumph through the Halls of Congress.

It is quite correct that he had to labor hard to get to a place where he could be effective, but in the Judiciary Committee it is well known that he earned his place in that committee and contributed greatly to the great record of that committee in these latter years.

There may be a memorial which we can raise to BILL RYAN. He dedicated his years lately to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where I served with him, to the hopes that the people of his great city, in fact, the people of our great country who live around the eastern seacoast could participate in great recreational opportunities through the Gateway National Seashore. That is the Ryan bill, and I hope we can expedite consideration of that bill. I recall that on a previous occasion when we lost Representative Clem Miller of California, we provided that when the Point Reyes National Seashore was created, we made appropriate recommendations that it would in some way serve as a memorial to Representative Miller of California. I would hope that in the same way with Gateway that we could do something about it in memory of BILL RYAN. But, no memorial, monument, nothing that we could create here is really going to carry to the children of BILL and Priscilla Ryan—in fact, to all of the children, young people, the elderly, the people of

America, the people of New York City, the people of all worlds, the true measure of BILL RYAN. That remains yet to be written. It will be written when all of our people know peace, know justice, eliminate discrimination and fully participate in the dream of America.

BILL died in pursuit of that dream; he did not lose it. BILL RYAN in a real way did not lose his life; he won his most recent battles. The record will show he has won most of his battles for justice even when he was a lonely voice raised in its behalf. I say, he did not lose his life; he gave it away. He gave it to the people of the United States of America. It is ours to honor, to cherish and to remember for the love of God and His peace and His justice and His mercy.

To the Ryan family, BILL's parents, Priscilla and the children, Helen and I and our family extend our admiration and our sympathy.

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with the gentleman from New York (Mr. Stratton) and others who have spoken so beautifully about our colleague, BILL RYAN, who has left us.

Even though BILL and I were poles apart philosophically and politically, I always considered him my friend. I knew BILL when he was an assistant district attorney in the city of New York. As has been said by Mr. Carey, that was the greatest school of justice in this country. I was at that time district attorney in my own county of Saratoga. BILL and I came to Washington in 1961 and were sworn in the same day as Members of Congress.

Since that time, he has been the leader, as has been indicated by Mr. Stratton and others, in reform and in peace, justice, aid to the downtrodden, and so forth. None of us have disagreed with most of his aims, but we disagreed to a large extent in the manner in which he sought to have them accomplished.

BILL was a good lawyer; there is no question about that. He was eminently qualified to serve on the Judiciary Committee. He was a good father, and as I have indicated, a good friend. I mourn his loss, and I know that those of us who came to Congress with BILL, and those who have become friends with him afterward, feel the same way.

I would like along with Mr. Stratton and others to extend my sympathy to his good wife, Priscilla, and to the rest of his family at the time of their great personal grief.

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate my colleague (Mr. Stratton) as well as my other colleagues, for their very moving statements and sentiments today. I join with them in extending my deep feelings to BILL RYAN's wife, Priscilla, and to his four wonderful children as well as to his parents and friends in their hour of great loss.

BILL RYAN, of course, was an outstanding student as my colleagues have pointed out. We might well also take note that in the global conflict of World War II BILL RYAN served as an officer in the field artillery throughout the campaigns in the Philippines and Okinawa. He was an outstanding soldier. When his country needed him, he was there.

He was also in the front ranks of the fight against crime before it became such a glowing legislative issue in Washington.

He was in the forefront as prosecutor and a man of renown who was well remembered in the office of the New York City district attorney. In fact, he was frequently mentioned as a successor to the district attorney of New York County.

He was a fighter, as we have said, in the area of social reform, housing, education and civil rights. We will remember his stirring campaigns on these issues.

My colleague from New York (Mr. Stratton) pointed out a significant fact. BILL RYAN's leadership broke the ground in the early days. For every prophet there are certain times when ideas are not too popular, and this is particularly true in the very beginning when new concepts are in their gemination stage. But in BILL RYAN's case this early leadership prevented him from serving on some committees in which he was interested. But I think the wisdom of this Congress works in the long run for the public good. BILL RYAN stayed with the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

As a consequence, today his Gateway legislation will probably be his lasting memory. New York and the Congress credits him for this splendid Gateway concept. A Gateway National Parks bill will bring to millions of New York and New Jersey residents open water and clean air. Those people—BILL RYAN's constituents and many others as well—because of history and the confluence of our society, do not enjoy these natural benefits as do so many people in our south or west.

I think we can try to correct some inequities of the past changing Gateway's name and by establishing the William Fitts Ryan Gateway National Park as a lasting edifice.

This Congress, I believe, can make the change in the next week or two. I think the William Fitts Ryan National Park would be a fitting memorial to him. The courage of BILL's convictions can well be an example to us all.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, it was with a very deep shock that I learned only about 45 minutes ago of the death of BILL RYAN. BILL and I voted together many times, and we disagreed many times, but I will say that never at any time, when we were on the opposite sides of a debate, when it was over was he anything but cordial and heart-warming, and friendly. I think this is one of the attributes that I will always remember about him.

As has been pointed out, he was on the losing side in many a battle here, but it never made him bitter, never made him mad, and he never displayed rancor. He was always cheerful and friendly. I think that actually the longer he stayed here the more friends he won, and even those who disagreed with him philosophically respected him, liked him and admired him because he had tenacity, he had durability, and he had the ability to stay with an idea and take a licking on it and then come back again and again until finally he was able in some instances to prevail.

I admired him very greatly for these qualities, although, as I say, philosophically we had some disagreements. It was a privilege for me to contribute to his last campaign financially, to wish him well, to hope for him the great victory his people gave him. I think that his death is a tremendous loss not only to his family, to whom I extend my sympathy, but to the city of New York, the State of New York, and the United States of America.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to say there is some special sorrow in my district at the passing of BILL RYAN. BILL was born in Albion, N.Y. He was the son of an eminent jurist who was the chief judge of the court of claims of the State of New York.

BILL grew up in our area and later moved to New York where he so ably represented a constituency very different from the constituency from which he had come.

I have known BILL since I came here to the House of Representatives 8 years ago. I knew him as a man of courage and absolute dedication to the principles that he espoused. He was also a worker of great diligence and uncompromising in the matters of heart that he brought here to the floor so often.

We have many people here who perform their function as an intellectual exercise or as a political exercise. BILL always was a Congressman who could be characterized primarily by the heart and soul that he put into his work.

We all extend sympathy to his immediate family and the family he has left behind in Albion, N.Y., also has our sympathy at this time.

I know the Congress will be a different place without BILL RYAN. I know there will be others who will try to take up the various causes that he espoused, but I doubt that they will do it with the enthusiasm, the courage, the hard work, and the heart that BILL RYAN showed.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman for taking this time so that those of us who knew and loved BILL RYAN could have this opportunity to express our feelings.

I think history will record the contributions that Congressman RYAN made to this body and, indeed, to the Nation. There is no question that BILL possessed the courage to fight for unpopular causes—to be there to speak out against the war in Southeast Asia—to work to provide medical services for the poor and for our senior citizens—to combat lead paint poisoning which really strikes down youngsters from minority races—to fight for low- and middle-income housing. Certainly the record is very clear that BILL RYAN stands head and shoulders above so many of his colleagues. Here was a man who dedicated his life to make the words "equal justice under law" a reality for all New Yorkers, for all Americans.

It was BILL RYAN who pioneered the struggle in Congress for peace in Southeast Asia. And it was BILL RYAN whose voice was the first to be raised in this Chamber to condemn the immorality of the war in Indochina.

It was BILL RYAN who authored and fought successfully for the first legislation to wipe out lead paint poisoning which kills and maims thousands of children each year. And it was BILL RYAN who led the

fight to require the administration to provide free preventative health care for millions of poor children.

We have lost a spokesman for peace. We have lost a spokesman for the future of our children.

But I think that a discussion of the years I knew of BILL RYAN before coming to the Congress is perhaps where I can make a contribution here. In the so-called melting pot in the city of New York, none of us could afford the luxury of simply putting a label on BILL RYAN as being a "reformer," or being a "regular," because on the question of morality or what was right, BILL RYAN was always out front deserving, and, in fact, receiving the respect of all those who ran with or against him in our country, in our city, and in our State.

I think one of the highest tributes that can be paid to BILL is to study the ethnic composition of his district. While we read that BILL RYAN's forefathers came from Ireland, when you look at his district you see both economic wealth and poverty. The blacks, the whites, the Jews, the gentiles, the Protestants, and the Catholics—nobody but nobody would think of BILL just as a fighting Irishman but as one who truly represented all of the people in that district. I know this so well, having lived in central Harlem all of my life which bordered on BILL RYAN's congressional district since he came down here. There was absolutely no hesitation on my part to think, notwithstanding the fact that I had an elected Congressman, that I could call upon BILL RYAN either as a citizen or as an elected official from the State of New York. And in joining him here in the Congress, his hand was always out to help me.

I think BILL really raised the standards of those elected from the city of New York to this august body. Never have we fully understood how BILL RYAN was able to keep that outstanding congressional attendance record which he held so sacred, and at the same time not only make the community meetings in his district, but in other districts as well.

He has made it very difficult indeed for anyone to follow him. But I do believe, as my colleagues have pointed out, if we are in fact to leave some type of memorial for BILL RYAN, our major contribution would have to be flexible enough—if we did in fact disagree—to leave something in the area of legislation and say, "We

did this. The Congress did this for the Nation and for the memory of BILL RYAN."

The Gateway National Recreation Area was something that was very close to him and was very close to the poor people in New Jersey and New York. I can think of no more solemn contribution we could make than to say that BILL RYAN deserves to have this legislation follow him.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is always difficult to say goodby and especially farewell and goodbye to a friend. That is our task today and a painful one it is. We pay our last words of tribute to our colleague, who recently was again chosen to represent his party in the November election; certainly he would have won his seat in the 93d Congress.

If I could find language to characterize BILL RYAN I think two qualities would be overriding. The first is "conviction." I have never seen a man whose convictions governed his political acts more than BILL RYAN's. Second, I think I would use the word "decency." I have never known a man who was more decent, who was more tolerant, who although he frequently stood alone, particularly in his early days here, always showed respect and good will toward those who disagreed with him.

I think if BILL were here today he would say that he and I were personal friends from the day he first took his seat. I urged him to be a little patient about getting on the Committee on the Judiciary where by reason of background and interest he belonged and where he wanted to serve, and he ultimately won a place on the committee of his choice. I helped him as much as I could in that effort.

BILL was a highly individualistic Member of the House; he was not just another Member of a large body. I think most Members of Congress have some personal qualities that give them some measure of distinction, and I do not know of one in all of my time, particularly one who served only about one decade, who stamped his character so firmly on the House of Representatives as BILL RYAN. He was good. He was conscientious. He was decent. He was kind. He was one of the best examples I have ever known of a man who took care of his myriad duties in Washington and never forgot his constituents. He meshed these two roles with great success and with steady devotion to both. BILL did his whole job as a Congressman.

His departure is a great loss to this House, whether or not we agree with any of his political points of view. The grief and loss suffered by BILL's family and his close friends, is also shared by the House of Representatives and the Nation. We shall miss our able colleague; we shall miss our dear friend. We extend our deepest sympathy to all his loved ones.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to associate myself with the statements that have been made. BILL RYAN was a gentleman. BILL RYAN was a friend of mine, and I shall miss him. He served with ability and distinction on the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, of which I am proud to be chairman. He fought hard as legislative matters were being considered, but he was fair and he was always pleasant.

BILL RYAN had a philosophy of government and he was true to that philosophy. I often disagreed with his conclusions, but I recognized that he thought and spoke with conviction and courage. He stood firm even though he stood alone. He loved people, and he spoke for the downtrodden and the neglected.

BILL RYAN was the first Member of this body to introduce legislation creating the Gateway National Seashore or Gateway National Recreation Area in New York Harbor. On June 25, 1969, he introduced H.R. 12436 to establish the New York Harbor National Seashore in the States of New York and New Jersey, and again in the 92d Congress on January 22, 1971, he introduced H.R. 1121 to establish the Gateway National Seashore in the States of New York and New Jersey. He was the first person to discuss this legislation with me and he mentioned it often. Many Congressmen, some here today, had an important part in determining and guiding the Gateway recreation legislation. This legislation has passed the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and it should be considered on the House floor soon. However, no person contributed more in promoting this legislation and in securing a sound bill than did BILL RYAN. This legislation should be a fitting memorial to BILL RYAN's efforts in Congress.

Our personal sadness at BILL's passing cannot be diminished, but it is somewhat offset by the knowledge that his contribution to life and to the well-being of his fellow men will endure.

Mrs. Taylor joins with me in extending sincere sympathy and best wishes to BILL's wife and children.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself fully with all of the remarks that Mr. Stratton has made.

I have served on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, chaired by the gentleman who just preceded me, Mr. Taylor, of North Carolina.

As such, I had the privilege of working closely with BILL RYAN on the legislation to create the Gateway National Urban Recreation Area in New York which is also known as Gateway East.

As the Statue of Liberty stands as a symbol to the immigrants who have come to this great Nation to make it the Nation that it is, I believe that Gateway East will stand equally as a symbol to the great dedication of our lost colleague, BILL RYAN, who, in my judgment, contributed the most in the way of recommendations to that very important project that I hope the Congress will pass with dispatch. He, in fact, was the architect of Gateway East, and we on the committee followed his leadership and his recommendations, as our chairman has stated.

I am going to miss BILL very much, as I am sure all of the Members of the House will miss him. But, more importantly, here is a man of dedication, courage, and conviction, and I say this with all of the sincerity at my command.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of loss I rise to mourn my colleague and friend, BILL FITTS RYAN. In 1964, immediately after my election to Congress, the first Member who I heard from was BILL RYAN, expressing his congratulations and his willingness to help me. That initial communication was the beginning of a warm friendship which we both enjoyed through the years. He was truly one of the most remarkable human beings I have ever met.

BILL was a man of conviction and courage, a man of many ideals and no illusions. He was a fighter, first, last, and always. He fought against overwhelming odds all his life, and he fought the terrible scourge of cancer bravely.

BILL was a man of deep principle, and his firm adherence to his beliefs despite their political unpopularity won him the respect and

admiration of even his most ardent foes. BILL was not only in the forefront of a great reform movement, but was the man who gave that movement its leadership and its spark. It was this same leadership ability and intense work that marked his activities in this Chamber.

The respect and friendship of so many Members of varied philosophies was best exemplified perhaps on the occasion of the recent New York primary, when so many expressed their keen interest in his success. Perhaps this was because BILL RYAN'S spirit transcended politics. He embodied qualities that could be admired by all men, regardless of their persuasion. Of the many men I have met, he is most entitled to the phrase "courage of his convictions."

Someone once said, "Most of us are broken in some way by the world, but those who are too good and will not be broken, the world kills." BILL RYAN was too good, and we are all the less at his passing.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, we stand here today eulogizing a good and decent man, and that is precisely what BILL RYAN was. His very heartbeat, his every breath, was in terms of that which is good and that which is decent.

When I came to this Congress BILL contacted me to say,

I want to help you in any way I can.

And he meant it. There were times he would call me and say,

Parren, I see you are interested in this particular fight or this particular bill, and here is some advice I want to give you.

He would give it unsolicitedly because he believed in being good and decent.

This man was so unsual. He could not hide his love for humanity. He just loved people. There was no way he could mask it. There was no way he could hide it. I do not believe he tried to do it. But even if he had tried, that tremendous surging love for humanity would have demonstrated itself at all times in all places.

I have seen BILL almost weep over a photograph in a paper of a poor, dejected, hurt individual. He did not know the person, but he simply would say,

This should never happen to any person in our country.

I am grateful for this opportunity to say a few words about him. It seems to me that almost 2,000 years ago a kind of message was delivered which became the credo by which BILL RYAN lived. That message was, "What does the Lord require of me? To love justice, to show mercy, and to walk humbly before Thy God."

That is what BILL RYAN did. He loved justice with a passion. He showed mercy with compassion. In doing both of them he walked humbly before his God.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I believe all of the Members of this body agree with me that one of the most impressive periods of service in this House is one's first term.

When I became a Member of this body I took up an office on the third floor of the Longworth Building, and across the hall from my office was the office of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN of New York. Being as impressionable as any who first come here to this great body, the thing which impressed me was the work that was being done in that office. It seemed that no matter how late I left my office, the work of BILL RYAN's office was still going on full force. I simply could not get over the fact that here was a place where it seemed the work was never done.

The second thing that impressed me was there were so many young people there. I learned that a good many of them were volunteers who had come down from New York City on their own, at their own expense, just to be with the man who had made such an impact on their young lives that they wanted to be by his side and serving in his cause.

I was so impressed I decided I should find out what that work was all about, and I learned one of the lessons I believe every Congressman should learn; that is, that being a Congressman is being a teacher.

Much of the work that was going on in BILL RYAN's office consisted of messages to his people to try to educate them to the issues and to the need that they be aware of and alert to the things that were being done in this Congress for their good. While he is gone, he has left that lasting impression with me that I gained in my first weeks here as a colleague across the hall from BILL RYAN.

There is one other memory that will be long in my mind, and that is of the figure of BILL RYAN; somewhat bent; always burdened with papers under one arm; intent on where he was going with a cause in his mind, with a concern in his heart that indicated that he should spend time in that day to do something about it.

So, he is not gone. His memory, his impressions are in other minds, as they are in mine. That is one of the things that gives some assurance of a positive immortality—if you can make an impression that stays beyond your years on those who will live after you. I know that those young people who were with BILL RYAN carry an ever greater imprint than is in my mind and in my memory. I say that it is good that there comes to the Congress this kind of man who can make this kind of contribution, a little bit of which stays with each of us, that we might carry it on.

My wife and I join with others who have expressed their sympathy to BILL RYAN's family. I count it an honor that I was here in the years that BILL RYAN served.

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I was profoundly saddened to learn of the passing of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. Mr. RYAN was one of the inspirations that helped to bring me to this Congress. I met him many years ago and, of course, held him in the highest admiration, because he was the very first Member of this House to speak out against the war in Vietnam. He did that in 1963 when the thought was unthinkable. I know from personal experience the agony and anguish he had over that war.

Way back in 1965 he spoke out once again an unthinkable thought calling for a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. In May of 1972, his conviction led him to a very bold and brave expression of his conviction in which, independently of any political consequences, he called for the impeachment of the President. He made that statement after the President's decision was announced to mine the harbor of Haiphong.

He was brave in a number of other things. As early as 1961, BILL RYAN called for the recognition of Communist China. One of his first acts in coming to the Congress was to join a group of four Members to initiate action to cut off funds for the House Un-Ameri-

can Activities Committee, now the House Internal Security Committee. BILL RYAN did this because, as he put it more than 10 years ago:

> This Committee is using public money to humiliate scores of loyal American citizens.

BILL RYAN leaves as his legacy more than a hundred people in this House who now share that view.

Trying to sum up all that he has done is impossible. He recommended legislation to alleviate the lead poisoning that afflicts children in the ghetto. Another of his endeavours was his devotion to Soviet Jews. I went with BILL RYAN to the State Department and the Voice of America to carry out his determination to have broadcasts by the U.S. Information Service transmitted to the Soviet Jews in the Yiddish language.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most lasting memories that I shall have of BILL RYAN was the evening at midnight when I went with him to the detention centers where the May Day demonstrators were incarcerated in May 1971. BILL RYAN gave me courage that night. He stayed with these young people for 2 hours, and as we drove back he expressed his outrage at the way that these youths had been treated. Afterward I learned that he had spent from 1 a.m. to 3 a.m. on the phone with the parents of his constituents.

He was a brave and a good man. I and all of us weep for his dear wife, Priscilla, and for his children, Priscilla, Virginia, Catherine, and William, Jr.

The memory of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN will be held in benediction by everyone who knew him.

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, there was a happy occasion nearly a year ago on the 10th anniversary dinner for BILL RYAN, and some of us sent some notes in at that time, and, uncharacteristically, things were said during his life fully as complementary to his devotion and service as are now being said in this eulogy. At that time I said that the standards that he followed could best be described in the very great statement of Edmund Burke as to the standards which should govern parliamentary service, and almost everything said here proves that to be so. Burke said:

Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents.

And that is what has been said here today, and no language could more appropriately describe the service of Bill Ryan.

He then said that:

Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitted attention.

These long hours that have been described here that that office of his was open, and his great attendance record, that deep service to his constituents proves up that point of his meeting that ideal of a Representative.

And then Burke said:

It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs—and above all, ever, and in all cases to prefer their interest to his own.

He worked hard and long hours throughout his tenure in office and even came to the floor to cast a vote which he felt of too great importance to miss even within weeks of his death.

But then the most pertinent portion of the quotation is:

But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure—no, nor from the law and the Constitution. They are a trust from Providence for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable.

And this above all was that which characterized Bill Ryan. He had a conscience which he had no choice but to follow; he had no wish but to follow.

The single word that describes him best is "courage." He had absolute courage of his convictions.

I remember a few lines from Hilaire Belloc. They are about a man of whom Belloc says: "He kept his word," in the sense that he kept his word to his conscience, to himself. He hewed to his convictions. That is what Bill Ryan did. He kept his commitment to what he felt was right.

Often he stood in the well, lonesome and unassisted by many of us who felt his cause was right but too unlikely to prosper to justify risking our "parliamentary reputations for effectiveness."

But BILL RYAN believed that to leave unspoken a deeply held conviction was "not to keep his word." He felt that, to express one's deep conviction, even when "the hour is late" and the House restive and unsympathetic, was an attribute of character not to be forfeited, and that one's word, kept and preserved intact throughout one's whole life—

> . . . [makes] God smile when it [is] shown
> Unforfeited before the throne.

Therefore, over and beyond that measuring up to the Burkian ideal which I have described, there is also this to be said about BILL RYAN:

> He kept his word as none but he
> Could keep it, and as did not we.

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I must confess I cried when I heard that BILL died. I will not be able to do that for all of you, I am afraid, as distinguished as our gathering is.

BILL RYAN had read the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and he believed the promise that is there—he believed them to be living documents. He set an example that few, if any of us, follow, and that all of us should follow.

It has been mentioned earlier about the assistance BILL had given to some Members. I, too, had the benefit of his help. I once had a most difficult problem as to which I had no experience at all. I happened to be talking to BILL and he knew exactly what the situation was and what was to be done and he gave unstintingly of his time and advice and assistance—and all of us know that because we know the sort of man BILL RYAN was.

BILL believed the old saying that one man with God is a majority. He saw many things where he stood alone, and virtually alone, but he lived to see the day that that position did become a majority position.

Unlike some of us who study the problems and test the wind and trim our sails and soften our criticism—BILL saw what should be done and what the dream of this country is and he knew nothing to do but to go straight ahead and speak his mind. All the people of

this country had a champion in BILL RYAN and when he spoke, you knew that he spoke for his conscience and for the conscience of America. He had seen the light of truth and justice and through him it burned brightly.

My wife and I join the other families of Congress in expressing to BILL's widow and his children our sorrow in their bereavement at this time and in saying to them that we loved him and that we can only hope in sharing their grief that we can somehow lessen it.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks eulogizing our friend, BILL RYAN. Mr. Speaker, it was with a profound sense of shock that I learned of the passing of my colleague from New York, the Honorable BILL RYAN. Since coming to the Congress, BILL has been known as a man totally committed to the concerns of his constituents. He was as devoted to the people of New York's 20th Congressional District as any man would be to his family. In a sense, I am sure, he considered the 20th District of New York to be a very real part of his family, and it was with a great deal of pride and personal involvement that he labored day after day here on the Hill in their behalf. Though the political philosophy of BILL RYAN differed greatly with that to which I adhere, he was always most gracious on the floor of the House of Representatives and was always willing to entertain another's point of view. In many ways, I found his conduct befitting the definition of democracy itself, in that he was always willing to defend another person's right to express their opinion—regardless of its nature.

The Congress has oftentimes been described as a melting pot of ideas and diverse philosophies. Few can argue that those who congregate here are as different as the thousands whose interests we represent. If we were to all agree on every point without debate or a difference of views, the legislative process would probably become very sterile. Fortunately, we have had the chance to consider the opinions of dedicated public servants such as BILL RYAN, and I am convinced that this Nation is all the better as a result.

It has been my privilege to know BILL RYAN—both personally and politically. I wish to express my deepest sympathy to his family, for we too share in their great loss.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues with reference to my close friend, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, one of our own who up until the end continued to work day and night for the constituents of his district and countless other millions across the Nation. There was not one of us in this House who could have been unaware that for some time our colleague was in great physical pain and yet he did not in any way seem to give him pause. Whatever he knew about his suffering our late colleague chose to put it to one side and work up until the end on other people's problems. The whole life of this man was a tribute to what hard work can do. While not a headline grabber in the familiar sense of the word, our colleague knew how to use the press to great advantage and found in it a great ally in many of his most worthwhile projects. Unlike many who waged their campaigns in the press, our colleague knew that hard work behind the scenes had to work with it and that one in the end had to win needed allies if one is to succeed. Perhaps the greatest tribute one could pay to the memory of WILLIAM F. RYAN is to point out that the era of reform which this great New Yorker ushered in and pursued so long, so valiantly, is in no danger of passing with the man himself, but rather like his memory will endure and be around to influence the deliberations of this body for some time to come. This man was a man of courage, an outspoken critic of popular policies which he questioned long before it became fashionable to do so, and the policies themselves became unpopular. Courage such as this is always admired, probably more in retrospect than at the moment, but that is why I want to mention it during these moments of reflection. I only hope BILL RYAN's life will continue to serve as a model for those who are interested in just how far a man can go in public life even today on such simple virtues as honesty, integrity, commitment, and perseverance. It is also a chilling example of the price in personal terms the burdens of political life can extract for the man who gives it his all.

BILL RYAN to me was a great Congressman. He was a man who could disagree with you without being disagreeable. He backed up his views and his philosophy by taking a stand right out in the open. He never ducked, dodged, or hid on any of the vital issues that affect the people of his district and of all of the Nation.

My colleague from Texas quoted Edmund Burke, and I also feel this way—Edmund Burke said:

You should always place your Nation above the interests of your district.

WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was that type of man.

His record indicates that he covered the span from the old-style elected officials and the new-style of elected officials. Yet he always showed great concern about the people in his own district—and his staff showed that concern—working late hours and long hours into the night.

It was not unusual to go by WILLIAM FITTS RYAN's office at 9 o'clock at night and see the people on his staff working to get out answers to the constituents for the requests they had made. He loved people in the true sense of the word. One had to love him, because of his way and his consistency in fighting for the causes he believed in.

WILLIAM FITTS RYAN is going to be missed around here. We need men like WILLIAM FITTS RYAN to stand up in the Congress every once in awhile and bring to our attention things we might not be paying sufficient attention to. He was in the vanguard of the fight on many issues which today are being generally recognized. We find some people who opposed his views at that time are now agreeing. In other words, he was patient and he took his time to get his story across. He was a great legislator and a great man.

To his widow and his children and the other members of his family I know we send our condolences and our best wishes and we ask God's blessing for them.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN was my good friend. I recall a few weeks ago in this Chamber when out of a deep sense of commitment, a commitment which characterized his life, he appeared here on this floor, obviously at that point a man with but a brief period of days remaining. The sense of loss this morning was very real. There was no shock because that shock I think occurred in recent months as one could see the slow and inexorable ravages of one of the great killers of mankind and the considerable effort that BILL RYAN was devoting to the kinds of programs which at some future time might make the premature loss of persons from such diseases less likely to occur.

It was my privilege to give him that measure of support of which I am capable in his last effort at reelection. I was so pleased when his district again showed their commitment to him and their confidence in him, because no man more richly deserved that kind of confidence than BILL FITTS RYAN. We will not see too many of his caliber in this or any other legislative body. We have many distinguished colleagues but few truly unique, courageous, totally committed individuals. While I am confident that there was great affection for BILL RYAN from all of us and from all who came in contact with him, that affection could not match his affection for all living beings.

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad I could be here to take part in this eulogy to praise the good things in the life of our departed colleague, BILL RYAN.

In my judgment the outstanding character of BILL RYAN was his courage. I say that because I think I knew him well. It was our privilege to serve with him on the Space Committee in the golden days of space, when the first suborbital flight was made, by Alan Shepard, Jr.; then the first orbital flight of John Glenn was made, followed by Gordon Cooper and others. BILL confided in me that he was not happy on the Space Committee. He wanted to be on the Judiciary Committee. It took a measure of courage to confront the leadership of the House and to insist upon a change of committees. We all remember his comments that were made in caucus and the fight he made to get a committee he wanted. It was a couragous fight. He was successful. He attained his objective.

It was our good fortune upon several occasions to have conversations with BILL when we would have dinner together up on Pennsylvania Avenue east of the Library. I shall never forget one of the comments he made which revealed his personal philosophy—let me interject a word to say we were in sharp disagreement on many issues. BILL was very liberal. I was more conservative. But he said to me, "Bill, you know I am more concerned about representing my people as I think they believe and want to be represented than whether or not I am popular among my colleagues." He said, "I am not involved in a popularity contest down here." He went on to say, "I hope I am acceptable to the district that I try to represent." He

said he was proud of his membership in this House. As he put it, this is the people's body: "This is the body that really represents the people of this country."

One evening he said to me, "You know, you can become a Governor by appointment, or you can become a Senator by appointment, but you can never, never become a Member of this body unless you are elected by the people." He said, "For such a reason I am obligated to serve my people—but I am grateful to my people. I will aways do my best to represent my people as I understand their preferences, irrespective of how unpopular I may be or become among my colleagues."

I thought that sort of attitude displayed some personal characteristics that many of us would do well to emulate. We are going to miss "old BILL." He was a great guy. A good man.

I thought so much of him that I said to him at the time, "I do not know whether it will help you or hurt you, but I want to help you in your campaign. I will go to New York and speak either for you or against you—whichever you may think will do the most good." He did not call me to help but I am sure most of us were glad to see that BILL survived the challenge that resulted from redistricting. We extend our sympathy to his survivors. He will be sorely missed. He was an able man, a distinguished Member of Congress, and a great American.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I intend to join the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary later in the week in talking more about the loss of our dear friend and colleague, BILL RYAN. As one of his close personal friends, even though coming from a State 3,000 miles west of the great State of New York, I could not let the day pass without joining with my colleagues and with the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Stratton) in saying to his family, Priscilla, and their four children, his father and mother, all of his many friends and constituents—and indeed it is a constituency throughout the United States and an international constituency that BILL enjoyed—that it is a terrible loss we have all suffered.

We will be comforted by memories we will retain forever—knowing BILL, watching him work, being his friends, being comforted by him

on a day-to-day basis. It is a great loss, Mr. Speaker. We will not easily recover from what happened yesterday.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as has already been indicated, the distinguished dean of our delegation, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Celler) is necessarily absent today because of the Jewish holiday, Yom Kippur, and the gentleman from New York (Mr. Delaney) has just suffered the passing of his wife. The gentleman from New York (Mr. Rooney) is engaged, of course, in a primary contest, and, therefore, the responsibility for informing the House today fell to me. Because of that fact Mr. Celler will request a special order later in the week so that other Members who wish to do so may participate in paying further tributes to our late colleague.

Final funeral arrangements for our beloved colleague are not entirely complete at this time. It is anticipated that the funeral service itself will be held at the Corpus Christi Church, 529 West 121st Street in New York City, at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning. The burial will take place in the afternoon in Upper Marlboro, Md. It is anticipated that the official funeral committee will fly up for the service in New York City, and that the committee and any other Members who may wish to do so will then meet the casket when it returns to the Washington area and accompany it to the burial service.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN is a tragedy for the Nation because this was a man whose courage was as mighty as his convictions; it is a tragedy for his constituents because he was a generous and efficient worker in their behalf; it is a tragedy for his colleagues here in the House because we have looked to him to express the highest aspiration of the Congress; it is a great tragedy for his beloved family with whom he shared his nobility and greatness of character. And beyond this, the passing of WILLIAM RYAN has deprived the world of what it needs most, an antidote for hate; he had wisdom to understand, imagination to create, and energy to bring about a world of justice, peace, honor, and mercy. This is the world in which he himself lived and sought to bestow upon mankind. May he rest in the knowledge that his days on earth have brought all people closer to the radiance of his ideals.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today we were saddened by the news that our colleague, WILLIAM F. RYAN, who represented the 20th District of New York, had passed away.

Since the 87th Congress BILL RYAN has ably represented his district, the State of New York, and the Nation, and his services will be missed by those who were privileged to know and work with him.

During his service on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs I can well remember the interest he took in the preservation of our natural resources, especially as it related to the Redwoods National Park, the Point Reyes National Seashore, and the Golden Gate Urban Recreation Area, in the State of California. In addition, he introduced the Gateway National Urban Recreation Area for the State of New York, and played a major role in steering these important bills through the committee.

Mrs. Johnson joins me in extending deepest sympathy to his lovely wife, Priscilla, and their children.

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to our late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, of New York.

His untimely death leaves a special void here in the House of Representatives, as his voice, championing the cause of the underprivileged, will be missed.

Congressman RYAN's diligent efforts, which were ahead of the times, often paved the way for future actions.

During his first term in Congress, in 1961, he fought to end school segregation.

Also in 1961, he spoke out for U.N. recognition of Red China.

In 1963, he spoke out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, this Hall will surely miss BILL RYAN. The people of New York will miss him, and the underprivileged of our Nation will, indeed, miss his able leadership and ability.

Mrs. Anderson joins me in sending our heartfelt condolences to his wife, Priscilla, and their four children.

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, this has been a sad weekend for me as the Grim Reaper struck hard. This weekend, my longtime District Representative John F. Griffin passed away and

only this morning I found that our distinguished colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, passed away at the untimely age of 50.

Mr. Speaker, there was no Member of this House more high minded and devoted to his duty than BILL RYAN. I can think of no one in this House or out who served the people with a more uncompromising sense of duty than BILL RYAN. A battler for peace abroad and the equality of man at home, he was in many ways the conscience of this House, a conscience who will be sorely missed by all Members of the House.

Mrs. Daniels joins me in extending our sincerest sympathy to his widow, the former Priscilla Marbury, of Upper Marlboro, Md., their four children, William, Jr., Priscilla, Virginia, and Catherine, his father, retired Judge Bernard Ryan, of the New York Court of Claims, his mother, the former Harriet Fitts, and his three brothers, Bernard, Hewitt, and Leonard Ryan. May Almighty God let perpetual light shine upon him.

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, I join with our colleagues, and countless others throughout the country, to mourn the passing of one of our most able and dedicated colleagues, and a close, personal friend, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

Long a champion of human rights and civil liberties, BILL RYAN actively and effectively followed the dictates of his conscience, which often required him to take positions which were not popular. In the early 1960's for example, he had the courage to vote against the appropriations for HUAC and, in 1961, he was one of only two Congressmen to urge United Nations recognition of Communist China. BILL early recognized the serious distortions of our national priorities and the senselessness and illegality of continuing our military misadventure in Southeast Asia. Almost 10 years ago he became the first Member of this body to have the fortitude to speak out against our involvement in Vietnam. Since that time he was in the very forefront of efforts—both within and outside of Congress—to end the war.

BILL RYAN was an activist in the finest sense of that word and he continually fought to protect the rights of those—particularly the economically disadvantaged and minorities—who had no effective spokesman or whose pleas for aid and understanding went unheeded. His efforts on behalf of his Spanish-speaking constituents and other

members of the Spanish-speaking community in New York City are particularly noteworthy and he long struggled to insure that Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin peoples received their full and just share of Federal assistance and were not denied access to our public institutions and programs. He was an especially forceful advocate for increasing and expanding bilingual education programs to assist New York's Spanish-speaking community.

Aside from his dedication to ending the Vietnam war BILL RYAN had also long spoken out in favor of extending medicaid coverage to poor children, to ending the use of chemical additives in foods, and to terminating the use of lead paint which has taken so many young lives in the crowded tenements of urban America. He also led several successful efforts to achieve meaningful and needed reforms in our immigration laws.

I have been privileged to know and work closely with BILL on countless projects for over 10 years. I will deeply miss his counsel, insight, understanding, and guidance. We are all better for having known BILL RYAN and his mark has been left indelibly on the Congress. The record he established during his six terms represents one of the most progressive and productive of anyone to serve in the House and is one to which we would all do well to aspire.

Mrs. Badillo joins me in extending our deepest sympathies to his wife, Priscilla, his parents, and his four children. I am hopeful that our words here this afternoon will bring them some sense of comfort and will help sustain them during this time of great personal loss.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN was a man of courage and sincerity. He represented his constituency diligently, conscientiously, and honestly. BILL and I did not always vote alike, but I respected him, and had to admire his determination. This Congress is diminished in spirit by his death. While we did not have the opportunities to become close friends, I sincerely say I grieve his passing, and offer my condolences to his family and close friends, and to the thousands of people in his district who relied on him.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, with the death last evening of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, of New York, this Chamber has lost one of its fiercest and most constant battlers against injustice.

Much has been said and written about the many stands Congressman RYAN took over the years against actions and policies he viewed as misguided or immoral—his early rise to prominence in New York as the spearhead of a growing reform movement; his longstanding opposition to the Vietnam war; his constant concern over the downtrodden.

There is one area, however, where Congressman RYAN never received the credit that was his due. As a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare, I had an opportunity to become very involved in the move to ban lead-based paint.

As we all now know, lead paint has been responsible for the poisoning of many children who live in the slums of America. When legislation authorizing programs for its detection, treatment, and elimination was finally adopted, credit for the action was claimed by many. But it was Congressman RYAN who was almost solely responsible for its success.

He brought to that issue the same fervor we have seen him exhibit in a variety of causes. From my vantage point on the committee charged with funding that legislation, I know that it was WILLIAM FITTS RYAN's concern and determination which was ultimately responsible for the protection that is now afforded by this ban on lead paint.

However often we, as individuals, may have agreed or disagreed with him, Congressman RYAN had the respect of this body as a man who represented his constituents well while never wavering from the positions he held to be vital to the continued greatness of this country.

Mr. Speaker, not only this Congress but this country is diminished by his passing. I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, his children, and all his family.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I am immeasurably saddened today by the death of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. I wish to convey to his wife, Priscilla, and to their four children, William Fitts, Jr., Priscilla, Virginia, and Catherine, my profound sense of sorrow.

The death of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN will be felt by many, for his passing represents a great loss for the Congress, for the people of his

district whom he so ably represented, for all men everywhere who truly care about decency and integrity in government. Death is never easy to accept, how much more difficult when it strikes down a Bill Ryan.

He will be missed, Mr. Speaker, for he came to symbolize what is best in this body. The good people of his district will elect someone to succeed him—they cannot replace him.

I think John Masefield's words fitting:

Man with burning soul
Has but an hour of breath
To build a ship of truth
On which his soul may sail—
Sail on the sea of death,
For death takes toll
Of beauty, courage, youth,
Of all but truth.

BILL RYAN built his own "ship of truth" and now death has taken its toll of his "beauty, courage, youth," but where truth is concerned death's victory must go unclaimed. He chose to sail upon that "ship of truth"—how well, how very well, he sailed.

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I welcome the opportunity to join with BILL RYAN's many friends and admirers in the House to express our sense of loss at his untimely death. BILL RYAN will be sorely missed—not only in the congressional district he represented so well, but here in Washington. His likes will not be seen again soon.

I had the privilege of knowing BILL many years ago when we were both active in the reorganized New York Young Democratic Club, which was a kind of forerunner of the broader reform movement which followed in the 1950's.

BILL was an inspiration to all of us who were interested in democratizing and modernizing the Democratic Party in New York as he took on one seemingly impossible challenge after another and won them all.

After my own primary victory in 1964, the Representative whose advice I naturally first sought was BILL RYAN. In the years that followed I developed enormous admiration for his great courage, his remarkable determination, and his willingness to hold to whatever

position he felt was right no matter how lonely. BILL never believed in the adage about Congress: "To get along, go along." Indeed, in an almost unique way he represented the total rejection of that position.

In my years in the House, I have known no Member who was more conscientious than BILL. He would burn the midnight oil again and again, not only preparing for the next day's action on the many fronts he was particularly interested in, but also studying seemingly innocuous bills for some hidden provision that might prove harmful.

An illustration of his readiness to stand alone, even in opposition to Members he admired, was his lone dissent from the rest of the Judiciary Committee in 1970 on a bill concerning immunity for witnesses before Federal grand juries, which was later included in the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970. In his minority views, BILL vigorously criticized the provision which made it easier for prosecutors to force reluctant witnesses to testify by giving them immunity from prosecution. BILL insisted that the provision was "a misguided diminution of fifth amendment rights" and was open to abuse. His opposition to it has been fully justified by recent cases, such as that involving the so-called Fort Worth Five in which witnesses have been locked up under cruel circumstances for indefinite periods for refusing to testify when they felt the assurance of immunity was not adequate.

There is no need for me to rehearse once again at this time the many instances in which BILL RYAN was out in front in an important crusade—such as for peace in Vietnam and for civil rights. And others will, I am sure, recite his notable achievements—such as his long and effective battle for the concept of the Gateway National Park. The point I would like to make in conclusion is that to a remarkable degree he served as a conscience for many of us in the House.

My wife and I extend our deepest sympathy to BILL's wife, Priscilla, and their children for their great loss. In spite of their grief, they can be very proud of the record he made.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of BILL RYAN, this House lost one of its most sincere, dedicated, and conscientious Members. BILL RYAN was a man of his word, and in his associations

with his colleagues he was dependable, honest, and absolutely forthright. He was a dedicated liberal, and he championed the liberal cause as ably as any leader of our time.

BILL RYAN was always fair and respectful in debate. I recall, upon one occasion, debating him before a group of interns here for the summer. BILL was representing the liberal and I the conservative philosophy. It was an inspiration for me to have the privilege of debating one who held such an opposite point of view and yet, at the same time, who was so respectful of another opinion.

Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN served his country with great honor and distinction in the battlefields of the Pacific during World War II. He came from a distinguished New York family that was dedicated to our laws and system of justice, and he ably continued in that tradition. Reform to BILL RYAN meant progress, equal rights, justice, and opportunity for all—even the most disadvantaged and underprivileged. He exemplified courage and integrity always.

BILL RYAN was an inspiration to us all, fighting back after debilitating attacks of illness. I feel that I am a better man for having known him. I feel that this is a better country because of his devoted service. Mrs. Dorn joins in my most heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Ryan and her wonderful family.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the death of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

Having known BILL RYAN's father for many years when he served as the presiding judge of the New York State Court of Claims, I came to Congress knowing that BILL RYAN was a good man and I will cherish the warm friendship that we built during the past 10 years.

BILL RYAN could always be counted upon to speak with candor. There was never a moment's doubt about where he stood on a particular issue. Though you might have disagreed with him at times, you could never quarrel with his consistency or frankness. These attributes made BILL RYAN a strong force behind the causes he championed. I saw firsthand the tremendous leadership he provided in the battle against lead poisoning, one of many areas where BILL RYAN had a profound and lasting impact.

We have lost a man whose strength and compassion were unequalled in this Chamber. To his wife, Priscilla, and their four children, I extend my deepest sympathy.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, it is with great personal sorrow that I rise today to eulogize the memory of our colleague, WILLIAM F. RYAN. Last night I lost a dear friend, the Congress lost an inspiring colleague, and his constituents lost a noble and conscientious public servant.

For years BILL RYAN provided a unique form of leadership in this House. He was the first Member to speak out against the war in Vietnam; as early as 1961 he urged Red China's admission to the United Nations; and he always was in the forefront of the fight for civil rights and civil liberties. Usually, he was ahead of the times, but his spirit was indomitable, and through patience and hard work he ultimately found the Congress following the paths he had pioneered.

BILL RYAN also made a lasting imprint on New York politics. He was an initial member of the reform movement. It was during this time, the early 1960's, that I first had the privilege of working with BILL.

At a moment like this, however, while one's memory recounts his accomplishments, one's feelings and thoughts center on the man. BILL was such a dedicated and charitable person. His generosity in giving of himself to the betterment of the world and welfare of mankind was endless. But, perhaps most important, was his deeply carried personal concern and consideration for the feelings and aspirations of others. No matter a Member's political differences, none could deny BILL his friendship.

At this moment, too, our thoughts must turn to his family and the loss they bear. My heart and sympathy go to his wife, Priscilla, who made it possible for BILL to give so much to this country and to his children who often had to share their father with his constituents. We can only be grateful to them as we are to BILL for his service and friendship.

A fitting memorial to this man would be the naming of the Gateway National Park, the William Fitts Ryan National Park.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a deep sense of shock and sadness that I learned this morning of our colleague, BILL FITTS RYAN's sudden death. He had encountered and overcome many difficult obstacles with a great degree of personal courage and determination. He was a good, courageous man whose loss will be felt deeply by all who labor for peace and social reform.

I knew BILL well for he served on my committee and my Immigration and Nationality Subcommittee. During those years I learned to appreciate and to admire his unwavering concern for the people he represented, and for his single-minded dedication in pursuing causes of compassion and humanity that he thought were right and just for all men. Earlier in this session BILL RYAN and I worked closely together on immigration legislation to eliminate inequities and facilitate immigration to the United States from Ireland and other European countries.

Perhaps the most fitting memorial we could undertake on his behalf here in the House, however, would be to enact his bill to establish the Gateway National Recreation Area, a project that he worked for tirelessly and one that will bring an enormous amount of good to the people of New York and New Jersey.

Our committee, the Congress, and the country have lost an articulate spokesman of the people. BILL RYAN was never a man to duck an issue. He could always be counted on to stand up and work for what he thought was right regardless of the controversial nature of the issues. He carried on his duties with a great amount of zeal and oftentimes while enduring pain.

BILL RYAN was still a young man at his death. He had already become a seasoned legislator and would have been an outstanding leader in the years ahead had he not been tragically struck down.

My deepest sympathy goes to his wife and family.

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Congressman BILL RYAN of New York served the House of Representatives and the Nation with dedication and distinction, and his death is a sad loss.

During the 12 years that he served as Congressman for the 20th District of New York, he compiled a legislative record that will be remembered with respect and gratitude.

He was a consistent champion of civil rights and civil liberties, and he was among the first in the House of Representatives to publicly oppose the Vietnam war.

Among the causes he espoused were medicaid coverage for poor children, an end to the use of chemical additives in foods, and a halt in the use of lead-based paints which studies indicate contributes to lead poisoning in children.

BILL's courageous and steadfast advocacy of causes in which he believed, although they might not have been popular at the time, marked him as being far ahead of his time.

He will be missed by his colleagues in the House of Representatives and by his constituents whom he served so well for 12 years.

Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his devoted wife, Mrs. Priscilla Ryan, their four children, and to BILL's parents in their bereavement.

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sorrow that the House of Representatives learned of the passing of one of its best-known Members, Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN of the 20th District in New York State. The passing of Congressman RYAN leaves a void in the House which will not be readily filled.

As a colleague on the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, BILL RYAN and I often differed on legislation. But his dedication to the principles he so strongly supported continually shone through in his actions on the committee and on the House floor.

I first met BILL RYAN in 1968, 2 years before my election to the House. From that first meeting, through our efforts on the Interior Committee, the impression was never diluted that BILL possessed tremendous skills as a legislator and a representative of his beloved West Side of New York City.

A graduate of Princeton and Columbia University Law School, BILL cut his political teeth in the rough and tumble of New York Democratic politics. As a young assistant district attorney in New York in the 1950's, BILL's reputation reached far beyond the boundaries of New York City.

BILL RYAN did not not lose many battles. He tenaciously held to his goals until they were realized or he was able to enlist more supporters for his cause.

His courage in the past few weeks against the ravages of disease are but the final example of his desire to give his all for what he believed in. The city of New York, the Empire State, and the entire Nation are poorer today with the passing of BILL RYAN.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, we have been saddened by the untimely passing of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, and I join my colleagues in expressing my profound sorrow.

It was a privilege to serve in the House with Congressman RYAN, who demonstrated enthusiasm and sincerity in the pursuit of his beliefs. He was a man who served his district and his country with dedication and gave unstintingly of himself to attain the goals and objectives he espoused.

My wife joins me in expressing deep sympathy to his beloved wife, Priscilla, his four children and his parents. May they derive some consolation from the knowledge that their sad loss is shared by his many friends.

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, words are never enough to convey the sense of loss we feel at the passing of a man like our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. I know that each of us can only say the few things that are most important in the hope that our words will preserve the spirit of the man and his ideals.

There are others here who can say more than we about BILL RYAN's record in the House. He was everyone's leader on the issues of the war in Southeast Asia, the U.N., and innumerable matters of importance to this Nation's urban areas. Although there is much talk today about "reform," BILL RYAN was there long before anyone, when the going was the hardest.

All of these accomplishments, and many more, have been eloquently spoken of here today by BILL RYAN's colleagues in the House. If I may, I will add one further credit to an already impressive list.

To many, it was surprising to know that the Congressman from Manhattan was a vital member of the House Interior Committee, but BILL RYAN valued this committee seat and filled it in a way which will be impossible to replace. For a man representing an area like New York City, with the problems all urban areas have, to spend so much time on the environmental problems of the Nation, it

meant that his eyes had to be lifted to the broadest of horizons, and BILL RYAN was the proper man for the job. The final tribute to his work on this committee, and to his environmental sensitivity, will be the Gateway National Seashore, a project which contains the vision and hard work so typical of the man.

Finally, it is time to put aside the accomplishments, which were many, and the leadership, which was of the highest order, and to simply remember the man. In this remembrance, I believe I speak for all House Members in saying that WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was our finest.

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened when I learned last night of the passing of our friend and colleague, BILL RYAN. BILL was a fine man who gave much of himself in dedicated service to his constituents, the cause of human progress, and to his country.

He was a man of strong convictions who was not afraid to stand his ground in the face of overwhelming odds. He was profoundly and deeply concerned with the things that affect millions of people in this country.

Many times BILL RYAN took the floor to expound his views on a cause which was not popular in the House of Representatives. Even those who disagreed with those views respected and admired the fortitude and courage of the man who expressed them.

He was a man of profound convictions and believed the views which he expressed. He represented his district admirably and impressed his colleagues with the manner in which he represented his district. He was a good man and an able Representative. He will be missed by the people of his district, his State, and his colleagues in the House of Representatives.

To his wife, his children, and other members of his family, Patty and I extend our condolences and our heartfelt sympathy.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the Record on the life and accomplishments of our deceased colleague, BILL RYAN.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1119

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following Members on the part of the House: Messrs. Celler, Stratton, Addabbo, Carey of New York, King, Horton, Murphy of New York, Reid, Bingham, Conable, Hanley, Wolff, Brasco, Hastings, Dow, Rangel, Diggs, and Hungate.

The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 19, 1972, at 12 o'clock noon.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Speaker be authorized to appoint 14 additional Members to the committee to attend the funeral of our late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as additional Members to the committee to attend the funeral of our late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN, the following: Messrs. Kastenmeier, Rosenthal, Edwards of California, Fraser, Burton, Conyers, Helstoski, Podell, Biaggi, Mrs. Chisholm, Messrs. Fish, Koch, Mrs. Abzug and Mr. Drinan.

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, I feel a particular affinity to our late and beloved colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. He happens to have been a classmate of mine at Columbia Law School. During this Congress, I sat next to him and worked closely with him in the Subcommittee No. 1 of the Judiciary Committee.

BILL RYAN, as we all know, was a valiant fighter for peace, for a people-oriented government, for justise; and against dishonesty and corruption in government.

He is a man who has left his mark on Congress, a man who was ahead of his time, and a man who lived to see many of his goals fulfilled in legislation and in our national institutions.

We shall all miss him. We all loved him. I simply wish to add my own personal remarks to a beloved friend and a great and noble colleague.

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to an outstanding leader in the cause of peace and social reform, Congressman WILLIAM F. RYAN. His premature death is a great loss to the Congress, to the people in his district and to the people of New York City.

BILL RYAN was a courageous idealist who represented a constituency that, like him, was far ahead of the rest of the Nation in op-

posing our tragic involvement in Indochina. The fact that his early appeals for peace fell on deaf ears never weakened his determination to end that terrible war. He lived to see a majority of the American people share his views and favor U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. In this House, he was among the first to vote against the war. He lived to see the antiwar strength here grow to almost 200 times that number.

I think it is significant that the last vote he cast in this body was a vote against continuation of the war. The fact that he left a hospital bed to journey here to do so was a measure of the strength of his feelings and conviction that this war must be ended. I know he would feel that the greatest tribute this House could pay to him would be to act decisively at least to cut off financial support for a war that has besmirched the honor of our country and caused inconceivable suffering.

As the first Congressman elected from the New York reform Democratic movement, BILL was a dedicated and consistent spokesman for civil liberties, democratic rights, and social justice. Early in his first year in office, he was one of only six Members to vote against appropriations for the House Un-American Activities Committee. He sponsored an amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1964 which enfranchised the Puerto Rican citizens of New York State, and his long fight against the dangers of lead-based paint led to enactment of the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act in 1971. Here again I think that the greatest tribute this body could pay to what BILL RYAN stood for would be to insist that the administration release the impounded funds that we appropriated for an effective program to combat lead poisoning among young children, most of whom live in slums.

As a member of the House Interior Committee, BILL RYAN proposed and saw, almost to completion, the New York Gateway proposal. I join with my colleagues in asking that the Gateway be finally approved and named in memory of Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

I was proud to serve with him and to work with him for peace and a better life for all Americans. He was a man of great personal courage and kindness, and we shall not forget him.

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the passing of a good friend always is a sad occasion, but the passing of the friend and colleague I eulogize today is an occasion I find much sadder than most.

BILL RYAN was one of the first of my colleagues to greet me when I came to Congress in 1963. His gracious offer of help and advice was one I accepted on repeated occasions during the 9 years since, and his counsel proved invaluable.

A man of courage and conviction, BILL RYAN also was a warm and loving individual who was deeply devoted to his dear wife Priscilla and their four children. He spoke often of the many pleasant weekends spent with his family in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania, one of his favorite places.

BILL RYAN enjoyed the respect and admiration of his colleagues, because he earned them as a man of reason and conscience. He will be remembered in the annals of this House as one of its truly great Members.

The high regard in which he was held by the Congress was clearly evident a few months ago during a reception in his honor at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Viorst. It was to be a modest group of friends, but I know BILL RYAN was overwhelmed, as I was, by the great many Members of Congress who attended.

BILL's host on that occasion, Milton Viorst, shares the sorrow all of us feel and I would like to share with my colleagues the thoughts of Mr. Viorst conveyed in a note I received today:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
September 18, 1972.

It's hard for me to imagine a Congress of the United States without BILL RYAN. He was not the most effective member of the House, or the most eloquent, or the most charismatic. But no member had more personal honesty than he did. And no member was more consistently faithful to his ideals. For a dozen years, BILL RYAN's sensitivity led him unfailingly to the right positions on war and peace, on children and the aged, on economics and the environment, on Federal power and civil liberties, on human equality and human potential. He was the conscience of many of us—and I don't think he ever failed us. Even after he lost his good health, he gave us unremittingly of his energy, his intellect, his dedication. In a realm that is not hospitable to saints, BILL RYAN was a saintly man. Those of us who knew him sometimes

found him difficult, but we loved him for that extra measure of integrity that made him different from us. WILLIAM RYAN was very special in the House of Representatives. We who live and work in this city, in this country, will miss him very much.

MILTON VIORST.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Rooney and I extend our deep sympathy to Mrs. Ryan and the children.

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues of the House of Representatives in mourning the passing of our fellow Member, Representative WILLIAM F. RYAN of New York. We are saddened by his untimely death and we shall miss him.

In paying respect to his memory, I should like to record my deep and sincere admiration for his unusual courage and determination, particularly in these last 2 years when, in spite of a dreadful illness, he continued to function effectively in Congress. He never failed for a moment to serve his constituency with fervor and dedication.

His display of courage was visible not just in these last years, but was a characteristic of every year he served in the Congress. We are indebted to our colleague for his keen foresight in noting the importance of events in the 1960's which rightfully earned BILL RYAN early recognition as a leader of social reform and peace. This unusual ability to perceive the needs of the people was exemplified when he advocated the admission of Red China into the U.N., as he spoke out against the war in Vietnam, and as he marched through the South fighting for civil rights. He was truly the founder of the modern Democratic reform movement and a spokesman of social progress.

We can pay effective tribute to BILL RYAN if we in this Congress will vow to do all we can to provide Federal support and assistance to combat cancer, the dread disease which so wrongly claimed him in the prime of his life and at the pinnacle of his career.

I extend my condolences to the family of our courageous colleague, WILLIAM F. RYAN.

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the Nation have lost a great legislator and statesman with the death of our friend and colleague WILLIAM F. RYAN, of the 20th District of New York. The passing of someone with whom you have worked and

shared the burdens and sense of accomplishment of daily legislative endeavor toward common goals always comes as a tragic shock. This is especially true in the case of BILL RYAN. His wisdom and dedicated service to the public will be greatly missed by the people of his district and his colleagues in the Chamber for years to come.

As a member of the Judiciary Committee, in company with BILL RYAN, I had occasion to watch him at his very best, attempting to make the lawyers see the necessary connection between legal phraseology on the one hand, and justice and morality on the other. He was ever hard at work, arguing that law was worthless if it failed in the matter of controlling the strong and protecting the weak.

As a reformer, BILL RYAN began reforming in his own backyard; demanding honesty of the Democratic Party organization in the New York 20th District. He pushed the matter, accomplished his reform and, when the battle was over, emerged as the controlling force within the district.

BILL RYAN was, first and foremost, the leading spokesman of the liberal cause throughout his five terms in the House of Representatives. As Congressman Pike explained yesterday:

He whispered things we all should be shouting.

He was the first Congressman to recommend the entrance of Red China to the United Nations. He was the first Congressman to participate personally in civil rights demonstrations organized by the late Dr. Martin Luther King. He was the first Congressman to vote against funds for the war in Vietnam. For these and other activities he was originally denounced as a radical—but as time went by, the American people began to adopt more and more of his positions.

Congressman RYAN was courageous, innovative, and concerned. He was one of the finest. We will all miss him.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it saddens me to have to stand here today and mourn the passing of my good friend, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. He will be long remembered in this body for his untiring work and dedication to the causes of the little people of America.

BILL RYAN has often been called a man ahead of his time. I do not think it was so much he was ahead of his time as it was that he worked so diligently at his job as Congressman that he saw more

clearly the problems at hand and the answers to them. His ability to fight difficult battles was proven time and time again. His knowledge of the issues made him a formidable opponent.

BILL RYAN's commitment to progressive causes here in Congress is well-known. The people of this country will remember him, too, for his fight to end lead poisoning from paint, for his efforts to establish a Gateway National Park and his constant dedication to defining the rights of all people, whether rich or poor, or black and white.

There is no doubt that BILL RYAN will be missed around here. He could always be counted on to keep his colleagues reminded of the people we serve. On the floor and in committee, his patience and diligence would work to get his message across.

In this melting pot of divergent ideas and views, BILL RYAN stood out as a prominent example of the independent thinker and resolute workers for new ideas and innovative change. While in disagreement with many, he was respected by all and will be remembered for years to come as a man who challenged others to change with the changing times and who in changing others answered the challenge to build a better world.

My sympathies go out to his widow, his children, and the other members of his family.

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as the flags over the Capitol are flying at half-mast today in tribute to our departed colleague, Representative WILLIAM FITTS RYAN of New York, permit me to join with the members of the New York delegation and others in paying a brief but sincere tribute to this outstanding legislator.

Certainly I share the sentiments expressed concerning the devotion and dedication of this hard-working, sincere colleague. BILL RYAN held liberal, progressive, and advanced views and served his district, State, and Nation faithfully and well.

I recall his pleasure and approval when the Subcommittee on Independent Offices and Housing Appropriations—which at that time I was honored to serve as chairman—secured approval of funds for the rent supplement program.

He worked diligently for the rent supplement program as well as public housing and other programs for the underprivileged and disadvantaged.

I was saddened to learn of his passing and I want to take this means of extending to members of his family this expression of my deepest and most sincere sympathy in their loss and bereavement.

Mr. BIESTER. Mr. Speaker, the passing of a good friend is always a great personal loss, but the passing of such a man as WILLIAM FITTS RYAN is an even greater loss to America.

I had the good fortune to know and work closely with BILL RYAN on the Judiciary Subcommittee. Those qualities one looks for in a Congressman were exemplified in BILL RYAN—diligence, sensitivity, intellect, and decency.

He was a maverick to many, for his convictions were too deeply held to remain unsaid. And when few others would say them, BILL RYAN would. He was not afraid to be "unpopular" so long as he felt he was right. And more often than some people cared to admit, he was right. Whether it was the war in Vietnam, health services for the poor, normalization of relationships with China, racial discrimination or the civil rights of the disadvantaged, he was there long before others climbed aboard.

No single person can ever be the conscience of the House of Representatives, but if one were to take names for an appropriate designee, BILL RYAN would have been high on such a list. He would not have looked upon himself as such—he was not that kind of man—but by word and by deed he earned that honor.

His untiring pursuit of what is right was what his life was all about. Congress was honored by his presence, and that presence will be sorely missed.

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, when BILL FITTS RYAN came to Congress his office was right across from mine. In all the years that I have been here, I have never known any other Member who had the admiration, the affection, and the respect of his staff that BILL FITTS RYAN had. There was no amount of work that was too much. They were there from the earliest hour of the morning until the latest hour at night. They would do anything for him that he asked, and they loved him.

In my opinion, one of the real marks of a fine human being in this world is that the people who know him well love and trust and respect

him. The people who worked for him loved him. In this, in my judgment, BILL RYAN stood above any other person who has ever entered this body.

To his family and to all of those who loved him, and to his district that gave him his highest tribute, I extend my sincerest sympathy.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, when a Member of this House dies, it is standard practice to eulogize him or her with standard adjectives.

Run of the mill adjectives are not adequate to describe our departed former colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, of New York.

Many, perhaps the majority of Members of this House, disagreed with him philosophically on a number of occasions. This was because he was constantly staking out forward, ideological positions that the majority of the people in this country would adopt and Members of this House would adhere to in future years.

He never lacked the courage of his convictions. Certainly no Member of the Congress within memory ever championed the cause of the dispossessed more ardently or sincerely.

Every country, especially if it espouses free ideals, needs men like BILL FITTS RYAN. He was our walking, living conscience, abrasively reminding us that it was not enough to promise equality to all; rather, we had to make it a reality by our own acts.

I know that both sides of the aisle and all shades of the political spectrum will mourn his passing for different reasons. He was an honest man, compassionately believing in the ideals our country espoused on paper. You always knew where you stood with him, and he never headed for the cloakroom when a difficult vote confronted this body.

He took his job seriously, representing his constituents ardently and conscientiously. I believe that the ideals he stood for and the convictions he possessed, in a somewhat modified form, represent the finest distillation of America's ideals. It is my hope that we in the Congress will retain our capacity for indignation at the sight of injustice. That was his hallmark.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN is gone, and this country as well as this national legislative body is poorer, because of it.

He was a man of vision and he has often been described as a man ahead of his time. I am sure that his critics feel that if there was ever a man who marched to the beat of a different drummer, it was he.

Yet, what he did was to live his life in such a way that one might assume that his motto was: "To thine own self be true."

He was true to himself in that he could see himself honestly in relationship to his fellow human beings.

He could see himself clearly enough that when given the opportunity for power and position, that he used this power for the betterment of his constituents and his countrymen, and not for self-centered purposes.

BILL RYAN preceded me to Congress by just 1 year, and when I came to the House for the first time in January 1962, he was one of those Members who helped me find my way.

I saw in him dedication, aggressiveness, and courage, yet his manner was quiet, gentle, and unassuming.

He worked hard for historic and progressive legislation, and it was he who led the way in many a legislative fight during this past decade which resulted in victory for the people.

I join with BILL RYAN'S family, his friends, the people of the 20th District of New York, and this Congress in mourning his death.

There will never be another quite like him who will come our way again.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday, BILL RYAN, a good friend and colleague, passed away. We are all saddened at such a great loss.

BILL was a man ahead of his time who believed in progressive legislation and reform. He was a man devoted to a cause and who gave unstintingly of his time and effort. He never stood by merely as an observer. He was in the arena, fighting for a better life and world for all men.

BILL'S courage and outstanding career as a public servant reminds me of those words written years ago by Theodore Roosevelt on the heroic spirit:

> The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and

comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievements; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly; so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to place in the Record today an article from the Washington Evening Star concerning BILL RYAN's career.

I would also like to extend my very deepest sympathy to BILL's family and friends. We will all truly miss him.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM RYAN, 50, DIES; LIBERAL AND REFORM LEADER

Rep. WILLIAM F. RYAN, a founder of the Democratic reform movement in New York City and a hero to many liberals for more than a decade, died here last night at the age of 50.

A spokesman for the congressman's office said death was caused by a recurrence of throat cancer following an operation this summer for a perforated stomach ulcer.

The spokesman, Erika Teutsch, said Rep. RYAN was "physically exhausted" from a primary campaign this spring against Rep. Bella Abzug, whose 19th Congressional District in Manhattan was redistributed into neighboring districts by reapportionment.

The campaign, described as a "liberal civil war," was marked by charges that a whispering campaign was being waged alleging that Rep. RYAN was fatally ill. At the time, he denied any illness and aides said he was in the best of health.

He was admitted to Memorial Hospital on July 6, Miss Tuetsch said, for a checkup which disclosed an ulcer. While recuperating from an operation on the ulcer, she said the throat cancer that had hospitalized RYAN in 1970 reappeared, and "his weakened condition made it difficult to undertake steps which might otherwise have been possible to remove or stabilize the cancer."

It was not immediately clear how a new Democratic nominee for Rep. RYAN's district would be chosen, but the outspoken and equally liberal Mrs. Abzug seemed a strong possibility.

Officials in the State Democratic Committee and the New York Secretary of State's Office said a nominee would probably be selected within 15 days by members of the Bronx and Manhattan Democratic County committees from the 20th Congressional district.

That designee will meet Conservative Harvey Michelman in the November election, the Associated Press reported today, but New York sources said they expect there will be no GOP opponent in the overwhelming Democratic district.

Mrs. Abzug, who was defeated by Rep. RYAN in the primary earlier this year, said: "My deepest sympathies go to BILL RYAN's wife and family. He was a good and courageous man. His passing is a great loss to the cause of peace and social reform."

In Huntington, W. Va., Sen. George McGovern, the Democratic presidential candidate, said Rep. RYAN "was one of the most courageous and articulate voices for peace in the United States Congress."

Rep. RYAN's liberal position on many issues cost him influence in Congress but won him the admiration and loyalty of his constituents.

He was the first Congressman to vote against funds for the war in Vietnam and one of the war's earliest critics. He was attacked for advocating the admission of China to the United Nations, and he was deemed radical for marching in civil rights demonstrations throughout the South.

On those issues, and many more, events, later moved public opinion behind him.

DEFEATED BY LINDSAY

Rep. RYAN won every election he ever ran in, except for one ill-fated campaign for mayor in 1965 against John V. Lindsay. And he established the reform movement as a force to be reckoned with as he became the city's first reform district leader, then its first reform assemblyman and finally its first reform Congressman, in 1960, beating Rep. Herbert Zelenko in a primary.

In recent years, his major project was the establishment of a Gateway National Urban Recreational Area in New York. He was the principal sponsor of the bill coming up for debate in Congress this week.

But while many in Congress considered him among the "wild eyed liberals," he was respected by even the bitterest opponents.

He once said, "Many who disagree with me seem to respect the fact that when I speak, I speak out of conviction and sincerity."

Tall, red-haired and freckle-faced, with a wide smile, he was often mistakenly called "WILLIAM FITZRYAN," combining his middle and last names, and even those who knew better used the misnomer affectionately.

His critics said he saw things at 100 percent right or 100 percent wrong, would not compromise, could not be induced to relax and found it difficult to delegate authority.

"Is that criticism?" he once laughingly retorted.

Rep. RYAN moved from a comfortable law practice and a job as assistant district attorney in New York County into politics, working for the election of Adlai E. Stevenson for president in 1956 and winning the admiration of Stevensonians such as Gov. Herbert L. Lehman and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Many of Rep. RYAN's colleagues in Congress and in politics issued statements, of grief, regret and sympathy tonight.

Sen. McGovern also said of Rep. RYAN; "He was one of the earliest thoughtful critics of our involvement in Vietnam, a great champion of peace, a great champion of arms control and a tremendous fighter for ordinary people in this country."

URGED CHINA IN U.N.

In his first act after election in 1960, Rep. RYAN violated both the traditional silence of a junior congressman and the prevailing cold war ethic by calling for the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. He agitated against renewed funding for the House Un-American Activities Committee and voiced opposition to spending for nuclear arms.

In succeeding terms he served on the House Science and Astronautics Committee, he worked against the war in Vietnam and against Comsat—the communications satellite orbited by the government and then turned over to a private corporation—and against the seating of Mississippi congressmen he considered to have been elected illegally.

Among his actions as a congressman, besides his opposition since 1963 to the Vietnam war, Rep. RYAN was proudest of his unsuccessful 1965 challenge to the Mississippi's congressional delegation, he told a reporter this summer.

Arguing that the delegation had been elected illegally because blacks were excluded from voting, he managed to collect 145 votes for his position and to keep the matter alive for three weeks after Congress opened.

A leader of congressional efforts to end racial discrimination, Rep. RYAN in 1968 introduced the first bill in Congress to provide for a guaranteed annual income for every American family. More recently, he was among the first to recognize the dangers of PCBs—polychlorinated biphenyls—a class of chemicals found increasingly in animal and human tissues.

Although one of the foremost liberals in Congress, he was considered something of a loner, and his colleagues were frequently slow to warm to his enthusiasms.

Rep. RYAN was born in Albion, N.Y., the son of Bernard Ryan, who was for many years the presiding judge of the New York State Court of Claims. He attended Princeton University. After service in the Army during World War II, he earned a law degree at Columbia University in 1949.

He is survived by his widow, the former Priscilla Marbury; a son, William Jr.; daughters, Priscilla, Virginia, and Catherine; his father and his mother, Harriett; and three brothers, Bernard Jr., Dr. Hewitt, and Leonard.

Rep. RYAN's body was to lie at the Frank E. Campbell Funeral Home tonight and Tuesday. Religious services were scheduled Wednesday at Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church. Burial will be private.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to the Congress in 1965, one of my supporters wrote to my office urging me to seek out and befriend Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN and to associate myself with his causes for they were just. This, she believed, would be the right way for a freshman Congressman to begin.

As it turns out, she was right. In the 8 years which followed, I came to know and respect BILL RYAN, and indeed, to share with him

the many causes and battles in the name of progressive reform. He was so deeply dedicated to the issues that he was often appropriately called "the moral conscience of the Congress." BILL RYAN's untimely death at the age of 50 leaves a void not easily filled in the Congress, and in the minds and hearts of those whom he knew and served.

BILL RYAN was a man of foresight and convictions, assets which earned him a superlative voting record during his 12-year membership in this body. He was more often than not a man ahead of his time but right on the issues.

He proudly held the record as the first Congressman to speak out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and that in 1963 was no small measure of courage. In 1965, he held hearings on Vietnam and advocated a negotiated settlement of the war when opposition to it was still a matter of conscience and not political expediency. And, most recently, still fighting for peace, he joined with four other colleagues to introduce a resolution impeaching the President for his role in the war.

As his first act representing New York's 20th District, he called for the admission of China to the United Nations, a position whose justification came 12 long years later. Ever an opponent of the cold war mentality, he agitated against renewed funding for the House Un-American Activities Committee and voiced opposition to spending for nuclear arms, positions whose time has only recently come.

Perhaps the position for which I respected BILL "FITZRYAN," the most was his early and unswerving commitment to end racial discrimination in this country. To that end, he, with a minority of others, challenged the congressional delegation from Mississippi, arguing that it had been illegally elected because blacks were excluded from voting. In 1968, he introduced the first bill in Congress to provide for a guaranteed annual income for every American family. BILL was also a longtime proponent of home rule for the District of Columbia, a champion of school desegregation, and an advocate of medicaid coverage for poor children.

The passing of BILL RYAN is more than the personal loss which we all share. It is the loss of a fine American and outstanding public

servant whose death can only diminish the forces and cause of reform. He will indeed be sorely missed.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I was absent when the special order was taken for a tribute to our distinguished, lamented colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, or I would have joined my colleagues in a eulogy to him. An indication of his courage and character was emphasized in an editorial in the Washington Post of today which I ask to have incorporated at the end of my remarks.

BILL RYAN, as I call him, was a man of great vision and great compassion. His legislative record reveals his sensitivity to problems that were meaningful to people. He loved humanity and he fought to serve it and did serve it nobly. A little while ago there was a testimonial dinner to BILL RYAN in New York. He invited me to send a letter about him which I was pleased to do. I ask that my letter be incorporated following my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, our hearts are heavy that BILL RYAN will not be with us any more. We have lost a great colleague and a cherished friend. The Nation has lost a statesman. My wife joins me in expressing deepest sympathy to all his loved ones.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 20, 1972]

WILLIAM FITTS RYAN

In the death of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, New York City has lost a congressman of courage and the House has lost a member who often had uncanny foresight. Mr. RYAN's political courage was displayed early on, when in the late 1950s he challenged the entrenched might of New York's Tammany Hall. The ferocity of Manhattan politics, especially when Democrats go at each other, has ended many political careers before they began, but Mr. RYAN gambled successfully that the voters were tired of backroom manipulation. Once elected to the House, he continued taking risks by backing issues and ideas long before popularity made them safe. He called for admission of China to the U.N., spoke out against spending for nuclear arms and thought it foolish to renew funding for the House Un-American Activities Committee. Today, critics of the war are common, but few of the arguments they make now were not made years ago by Mr. RYAN. Though Mr. RYAN was often called by his critics a "wild-eyed" liberal, the turning of events suggests that his eye was not wild at all but well-controlled and excellent in vision.

In the June primary, Mr. RYAN won a spirited victory but the exhaustion of the campaign was apparently costly to his failing health. On the House floor following announcement of Mr. RYAN's death, his colleagues eulogized him for one and one half hours, a deserved tribute. Another kind of tribute will also be made by some members: a renewal of efforts to continue practicing the political ideals WILLIAM RYAN believed in.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., November 10, 1971.

Congressman WILLIAM F. RYAN,
Tenth Anniversary Dinner,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: You will please allow me to join with the many friends of BILL RYAN who will be honoring him on this happy occasion. BILL RYAN as Representative in the Congress has made immeasurable contributions to the building of a greater and better America. He is an able legislator, a man diligent in the performance of his duties and deeply dedicated to the well-being of all the people of this great country, indeed all humanity. He has a warm humanitarian's heart; people mean something personal to him, and he tries to help those who need assistance as he would seek to aid a friend in trouble. BILL RYAN is color blind, he can't see black or white or yellow or brown—he just sees people—human beings, his brothers and sisters in the human family.

BILL RYAN is a gallant warrior for every worthy cause but he fights like a knight with chivalry and good nature. He is a friend whose friendship any man would appreciate. He has been my friend for many years.

I wish there were more Bill Ryans in the House of Representatives—in every legislative body—throughout the government.

So it is with particular pleasure that I join you in warmest commendations of BILL RYAN. I wish I could be present to say so in person.

Warm regards, and
Believe me,
Always sincerely,

CLAUDE PEPPER,
Member of Congress.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed saddened by the death of our colleague WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

I knew BILL for more years than I care to remember. He was a warm, intelligent, and thoughtful human being, a leader whose

absence will be sorely felt by his family and the Congress of the United States.

BILL was a true leader; a man who was out in front of his colleagues on a great many important issues. He was a man with the courage of his convictions, a man who spoke out when others were too timid to do so.

He was a man of unquestioned integrity who refused to dissemble, who used truth as his guiding principle. He was a man who believed in service to his constituents, who kept their needs foremost in his thoughts.

He was a man who was a keen legislator, who knew the intricacies of the legislative process and used them fairly to accomplish his objectives.

In short, he was a model Congressman; a man deeply concerned with the future of this country and with the needs of his constituents.

It is true that the good a man does lives after him and on this basis alone, BILL RYAN and his work will be with us for a long time to come.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, he was known as a fighter, but he was among the first who spoke out against the Vietnam War. He was a crusader, but he was willing to move on to new causes as those who came later took credit for the old. He ferreted out issues where others discerned none. He was impatient that the eradication of social injustices moved so slowly, yet he was tolerant of those who could not agree with him.

Such a man was WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

Congress was where a person of BILL RYAN's unique endowments belonged, and for 12 years he demonstrated these qualities of humanity, service, and courage as a Member.

It was in Congress that I first met and got to know BILL RYAN. I shall always cherish the memory of our frequent discussions, whether on legislation pending before the Committee on the Judiciary or the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, on both of which he served with distinction, or on other matters. BILL was always ready to listen. He was always willing to help.

Being elected to my first term in Congress from private law practice, I remember saying to myself after one of our early talks: Why, BILL RYAN keeps his word—just like a brother attorney.

BILL's untimely passing is indeed a great loss to this body. But he leaves to his colleagues and to those who will follow a priceless legacy—his indomitable spirit. Many will be kindly by it; still others will benefit by it.

Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN has gone on to greater heights; but those of us who remain must carry on the unfinished business that his vision, insight, and understanding helped to delineate and identify.

As one who was privileged to know BILL RYAN as a fellow legislator and friend, I extend to Mrs. Ryan and their children and to other members of the family my deepest sympathy in this their period of sadness.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday a beloved friend and a most distinguished Congressman passed to his eternal rest. BILL RYAN will sorely be missed.

He was a beautiful human being, a humane, compassionate, public servant who was genuinely devoted to the well being of his fellow man.

BILL RYAN was an outstanding leader in the effort to improve the lot of millions of people who needed a champion in their corner. He was the kind of champion that never feared to speak out for his heartfelt convictions and to work unceasingly and indefatigably on the issues he felt important to the people of his district and to all America.

All of us who knew BILL knew him to be completely dedicated to a better way of life for all. He tackled each task with the same vigor, determination, and strength as he devoted to his pet causes. He was without question one of the hardest working and genuine public servants I have ever worked with or observed in my 28 years of legislative activity.

BILL had been consistently ahead of his time in his advocacy of public causes when it came to understanding and formulating these issues few had a keener mind and a better sense of judgment than BILL RYAN.

He had that unique capacity to grasp public issues and to come up with responsible solutions. He fought relentlessly for human justice and dignity and his efforts here in Congress have made an indelible mark in helping to build a better America.

BILL was a native New Yorker, born in Albany, the son of New York State Court of Claims Judge Bernard Ryan. He served his country during World War II as an artillery officer in the Pacific theater of operations, and later earned a law degree at Columbia University in 1949. He was also an able assistant district attorney of New York County from 1950 to 1957.

As a community leader, a worker from the precinct to district level for his party as well as a stanch advocate of a responsive democratic political structure, he got to know and feel the grassroots problems of the Nation's urban areas.

BILL was that kind of special blend of Congressman—knowledgeable, hard working, warm, friendly, but above all, a gentleman, who never let the heat of congressional battles blur his vision of the essential goodness of mankind. He earned the respect of all of us, and I join BILL's colleagues in the Congress in extending to his lovely wife, Priscilla, his four children, and his dear parents heartfelt sympathy at this time of tragic loss.

The Nation has lost a devoted servant and we will all feel his passing. But we can all be consoled with the knowledge that BILL's contributions have brought us closer to the realization of a better world.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, this week a heartfelt loss has fallen upon my colleagues and myself in the absence of the late WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

His career in the State of New York and the Halls of Congress consistently showed him to be a man of rare qualities. His compassion for the downtrodden and disadvantaged was surpassed only by the strength of his convictions. He was respected by all who came in contact with him whether they agreed with his views or opposed them.

BILL RYAN and I began our congressional service in the same year and on the same committee, Science and Astronautics. Since our first meeting he was never too busy to offer his valuable advice and friendship.

Throughout BILL RYAN's 12-year service in the House he blazed a trail of leadership in many areas of vital concern to the American people. He was one of the first Members to speak out against our involvement in Indochina and led again and again in striking blows at segregation. His record on promoting racial justice is unparalleled.

From the beginning he fought and fought hard to secure health care and needed social services for the sick, the poor and the elderly. His constituency comprised not only the people who elected him, but all Americans.

He particularly cared about children, a traditionally voiceless group. BILL RYAN championed lead paint poisoning legislation to prevent the death and sickness of thousands of children each year.

The integrity and selflessness of BILL RYAN made it an honor to serve in the same body with him. I shall long remember his achievements and long mourn his passing. It has been paraphrased many times that the loss of one man diminishes all humanity. The loss of BILL RYAN to his friends, constituents, and the Nation more than deserves this tribute.

To his wife, Priscilla and their children, Carole and I extend our deep personal sympathy.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it is always painful when this great House loses a good and gentle soul. It is always regrettable when it loses an able and dedicated Member. It is always tragic when it loses one of its priceless men of vision.

But what is it, Mr. Speaker, when we lose BILL RYAN? We mourn a kind man, and our loss is painful; we mourn a diligent worker, and that loss is regrettable; we mourn a warrior of ideals, and that loss is eternal.

Theodore Roosevelt was said to have remarked, on one occasion, that most of the world's work is done by people who do not feel well. All of us who knew BILL RYAN in recent years could see the physical toll being taken by his illness. But there was no loss of spirit and no decline in his enormous productivity. He remained an invaluable asset to the Committee on the Judiciary and a loyal servant to the Bill of Rights.

During the years since he first entered this Chamber in 1961, BILL RYAN championed many lonely and unpopular causes. In some

instances, those visions were realized during his own lifetime. On the great issues of civil rights legislation, nuclear arms reduction, and Chinese admission to the United Nations, many of his early and almost singular positions have become modern realities. His tireless efforts on behalf of the Lead-Paint Poisoning Prevention Act bore fruit in the last Congress, and his undying commitment to a gateway national urban recreation area will be another of his legacies to the people of New York.

One only regrets that peace in Vietnam, for which BILL RYAN so long worked and ached, was beyond his time. But that peace will come, and his efforts on its behalf will be remembered as a lasting contribution to world peace.

Mr. Speaker, there are those among his colleagues who never agreed with BILL RYAN, and there are many more who agreed with him only on occasion. But, remarkably, every Member accorded him true respect and every Member felt for him genuine affection.

To his wife, Priscilla, and to his four children, I join the House of Representatives in sending my very deepest sympathy.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, the death of BILL RYAN leaves this Chamber and the Nation diminished in many ways. We are all familiar with his accomplishments in this body, and the extraordinary legal and educational background from which he came. While biographies chronicle the lives of men in terms of their achievements, men are remembered by their colleagues and friends for their personal courage, their integrity, and their forthrightness.

BILL RYAN possessed all of these qualities in abundance. He was a leader in bringing issues before the people of his district and Nation long before they received notoriety in the press or became popular with the electorate. In one of his first acts as a Congressman, he called for the admission of mainland China to the United Nations. At a time when the nuclear arms race was spiraling to new highs, he voiced opposition to unrestricted military spending. And long before the war in Vietnam was criticized by many Americans as an immoral venture, he spoke out against the continued American presence in Southeast Asia.

Even those who disagreed with his political philosophy will agree that he demonstrated the courage of his convictions over and over

again on the floor of this House. Whether it was lead-based paint poisoning or low-income housing, BILL RYAN dedicated himself to the legislative task with the full measure of human energy. In every respect, he represented the 20th Congressional District of New York.

Outstanding men are seldom passive in their outlook or their approach, BILL RYAN was, as he termed it himself, an activist. Perhaps the greatest tribute which he received during his lifetime was the overwhelming support which he received from his constituency in his last primary. He was admired and respected by the people who elected him because he consistently and tirelessly brought their views to the fore in Congress.

With the passing of BILL RYAN from the Congress, a force for equality and justice in American life is gone. Through his role as a member of the Judiciary Committee, BILL RYAN was a champion in the movement to obtain greater civil and human rights for all Americans. But to those of us in this Chamber who knew and admired him, and those for whom he waged so many battles BILL RYAN will continue to represent the values of courage and decency by which he lived his family life and public life.

Mrs. O'Neill and the entire O'Neill family join me in expressing sorrow and grief at the loss of WILLIAM F. RYAN; we extend our heartfelt sympathies to his family and close friends.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of sorrow that I rise to eulogize my late friend and colleague, the distinguished gentleman from New York, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. I can only say the House of Representatives has lost its most dynamic and determined Member. His unflagging spirit and dedication to the cause of justice made him one of the most outstanding Members that I have had the privilege to serve with during my 28 years in Congress.

Many Members have already spoken of BILL RYAN in terms far more eloquent than I can make today. I believe my distinguished chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency (Mr. Patman) in his statement, best summarized what BILL RYAN was to us:

> The passing of WILLIAM RYAN has deprived the world of what it needs most. An antidote for hate; he had wisdom to understand, imagination to create, and energy to bring about a world of justice, peace, honor, and mercy. This is the world in which he himself lived and sought to bestow upon mankind.

All of us could see during the past 2 years the ravages that his illness wrought upon him, yet, as we all know, it did little to stop him. His voting record remained as it always was, one of the best in the House. Even during his recent primary campaign, he was always here to vote and to participate in the House proceedings. He was, for me, in many ways the conscience of the House. He spoke out of true feeling to attain peace and justice for all.

BILL RYAN was ahead of his time when he first arrived here in the House in the early 1960's. I have often said that it is unfortunate that many of us did not listen to him more in those days. He was the first Member of this body to raise objections against the disastrous war in Vietnam. It was BILL RYAN who brought to the attention of the Congress, the serious problem of lead-paint disease among young children. It was his drive and determination that moved the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act through the Congress. I worked with him very closely on this piece of important legislation. He saw to it that it was enacted, and as my distinguished colleague of Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood) will attest, it was he who saw to it that it was funded.

I have worked closely with BILL RYAN on every piece of housing legislation that this House has considered since BILL arrived in 1961. I think that few Members of the House know as much about our housing problems and our Federal housing and urban development programs than did BILL RYAN. He always testified before our Housing Subcommittee when it was considering legislation and always presented voluminous, well-researched, and constructive proposals to the committee. His interest did not stop at just testifying. He was always there to see that the committee was considering his proposals and always there to offer his support to us at every opportunity. I believe that what made him so loved and respected in this House was his good will, his good spirit, and his respect for other Members. You could disagree with BILL RYAN violently, but you always loved him.

This House has lost its most respected Member. I extend my sincere sympathy to his wonderful family and to his constituents in the 20th Congressional District in New York City.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the death of our colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN, is one which will be felt by this Cham-

ber for many years. Few men pass through this House with the notice and impact of a Bill Ryan and millions of Americans have now lost a dedicated and energetic spokesman.

I knew BILL RYAN well and working with him over the past 12 years was an experience filled with surprises and drama. This was a man who thought only of the people he represented—the people of his congressional district and the people all across America who were unrepresented. He was a man with a mission and the mission was to bring a better life to those less fortunate than himself. That mission was far more important to him than any rules or standards of conduct accepted by the established order in Washington, including the Congress. When he believed something needed to be said, BILL RYAN said it regardless of the political consequences.

His career was a most illustrious one. BILL RYAN was talking about the dangers of pollution and the need for environmental standards 12 years ago. He was proposing automobile emission control legislation when few people in this country had devoted a moment's thought to the subject. He was always ahead of his time on the issues and, therefore, a controversial figure, but the record he compiled will live on as a monument to his efforts.

BILL RYAN was a tireless worker as he strived to change the prevailing opinions of this Chamber on many issues—the war, the environment, and human rights, housing, mass transportation and the Nation's underprivileged to name a few. His dedication and hard work won over the admiration and respect of many Members of Congress and the National Government who otherwise might have looked with disapproval on his proposals for a better society.

During the past few years, steady process of increasing respect and admiration for the man reached its peak as BILL RYAN fought out against the illness which finally took him from us. The knowledge that he would not be with us long brought about a most heroic effort to do more for the disadvantaged and compile an even more comely record of achievement as a U.S. Representative. BILL RYAN worked harder than ever before. He fought and won a reelection campaign by winning the hearts and minds of his constituents. He returned to the House this summer as a winner, proud of his victory yet ready to work harder for his supporters.

Now he has been taken from us and as we pay tribute to him today in the House, we recall the many times he addressed us and we will miss the challenge he never failed to place before us. I join in extending my personal sympathies to his family and many friends.

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, there are many ways that we can pay tribute to Congressman WILLIAM F. RYAN. We could talk about his background, about his effectiveness as a legislator, or about the work he did for his district, the 20th District of New York. But if we stopped there, we would not be doing his memory justice, because BILL RYAN will be remembered most of all for his ideas. He was a Member of the House of Representatives for 12 years, and in each of those years, he was out in front—ahead of his colleagues, ahead of his district, ahead of his time.

One of the first things he did when he came to Congress was to vote to cut off funds for the House Un-American Activities Committee. He was only one of a handful then, but partially because of his persistence and determination, that handful grew to more than a 150 on a similar vote this year. In 1961, he was scorned for advocating the recognition of the Peoples' Republic of China. It was another one of those "radical" ideas that BILL RYAN was pushing, people said then, but in 1972 it does not seem radical at all. In 1963 he took the floor of the House to speak out against the war in Southeast Asia. More than a few people scoffed at his pleas to end the war. That was in the first year of the American war in Southeast Asia. Now, we are in the 10th year of that awful war, and no one doubts that BILL RYAN was right, right in 1963, and right up to the week of his death in 1972.

Consumer protection, medical care for the poor, government reform—these were only some of the "radical" areas where Congressman RYAN led the way. History remembers people for their ideas.

BILL RYAN'S ideas have insured him of a special niche in this county's annals. We who knew him are the better for his ideas, and generations ahead will benefit even more.

BILL RYAN was an enemy of the status quo. He saw progress as the stuff of government, and it is for that leadership that the country will miss him most. And so will those of us who had the privilege to be his friends.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join in paying tribute to one of the most decent men I have ever known.

A year ago I was asked what I thought of BILL RYAN and this is what I said:

> Without a doubt the single most obvious quality about BILL is his obvious outrage about injustice. It is easy in the atmosphere of the House to become bland and faceless, but BILL RYAN has never succumbed.
>
> Whether it is Vietnam or poverty or an under-funded program to protect ghetto children against the dangers of lead based paint, BILL's deep feelings for justice and humaneness show through. When BILL takes a position on the floor no one ever has to wonder what his political angle is. The simple fact is that he has none. BILL does what he thinks is right and what he thinks is needed and he does it with a deep sense of caring which ought to shame everyone who has taken the easy path by saying that the system is impossible to move.

Anyone who cares about the promise of America and the integrity of its political system must feel a great sense of loss that BILL RYAN will not be there with us caring and fighting as he has done for so many years. I know I do.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, conscience and courage have become overused words in this age of rhetorical overkill. But they apply with undiminished meaning to WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. His death is a severe loss to this House and to this Nation.

For more than a decade, BILL RYAN was a spokesman in the Congress for the decent and the humane. Even as his physical voice weakened from the effects of the illness which has now claimed his life, his moral voice kept coming through, loud and clear, as guide and encouragement to the rest of us.

BILL's initial election—running as he was as a founder, along with Eleanor Roosevelt and Senator Herbert Lehman, of the Reform Democratic movement in New York City—gave promise of forward-looking public service to come.

He soon lived up to that promise.

As early as 1963, BILL RYAN was speaking out—all but alone—against our disastrous policy in Vietnam. He stayed in the forefront of the growing number urging that we get our troops out rather than compounding the original tragic mistake of our involvement.

Domestically, BILL RYAN was a sincere and untiring advocate of measures to guarantee civil rights for all Americans. One of his first speeches when he entered the House was a plea for a legislative "war on discrimination." More recently, BILL became a champion of the new rights battle—that for equal rights for women. And he stood up consistently for the rights of the workers in our country, whether the factory employees in his own Manhattan, or the farm laborer in California.

His active interests extended from enlarging our national park areas to expanding equal housing opportunities, from eliminating poisonous lead-based paints to safeguarding the rights of the accused.

But always the common denominator was people, and BILL RYAN's love for them.

We have all lost a good friend.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife and family.

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday morning, many of my colleagues and I attended the funeral service of a dear friend, and our respected and admired colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

From the moment I received word of his death, I knew that a time would come in which we—his colleagues—would join in eulogy, and I tried from that moment on to extract from BILL's life story that one deed, that one act, that one bold position that would be considered the hallmark of his career. It would be to this that I would address myself today.

On Monday evening, I went to the funeral home in New York City to visit Priscilla and their children and perhaps, in some way, share their burden. But, with the same strength and fortitude that BILL so often displayed, it was Priscilla and the children who were giving comfort to those who came.

Yet, at the funeral service on Wednesday morning, a young man of '21 rose to tell us about his father. The young man, in his own words, managed to speak not only for his mother, his sisters, his grandparents, and friends, but for all those who loved BILL RYAN, for all those who felt a great burden by his death, and for all those who were suffering a deep loss.

I will read the words of William Fitts Ryan, Jr., and I am sure we will all agree that Bill, Jr., speaks for all of us:

My father was a rare man. Rare because in an era of growing cynicism he kept faith. In a time when people were losing their values he strengthened his. When fighting injustice seemed to be passe—he fought harder. Always trying, always straining to the utmost to fight any injustice, inequity, or wrong doing. He was a perpetual champion of what is best.

Yes, my father was a rare man. A man about whom it could be said he had no price. A man who would not be tempted except by justice.

Integrity never had a more faithful follower than Bill Ryan.

Yes, dad was a rare man, no great back-slapper, no great hail fellow-well-met but a man who inspired people, enlarged lives, and created love—love from every kind of people—young and old; rich and poor.

And now he is gone. A short life well-lived. He set a standard—a standard of integrity and courage.

His first congressional vote was for civil liberties—his last against the war in Vietnam. All the votes and congressional activities in between were based on the same sense of justice, the same fundamental decency and integrity which motivated the first and the last.

Throughout his career he not only voted and acted according to his conscience but also never forgot he was his people's servant. Underneath what some saw as a powerful and demanding personality was a deep humility and compassion. The sense that he was there to serve not to be served. He had a warm humanitarian's heart; people meant something personal to him; he tried to help those who needed assistance as he sought to aid a friend—he was just plain color blind—he could not see black or white or yellow or brown—he just saw people—human beings; his brothers and sisters in the human family.

In paying their last respects it was the many constituents—the people he served—who gave the greatest witness to his goodness.

I can think of no better way to describe the standard that my father followed than that which is said in the following quotation by Edmund Burke:

"Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfactions, to theirs—and above all, ever, and in all cases to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlighted conscience he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure—no, nor from the law and the Constitution. They are a trust from providence for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable."

Dad was a rare man and we are grateful to him for coming to us and we will miss him greatly.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives has lost a determined, dedicated Member in the passing of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

A native of western New York State and the son of a distinguished State jurist, BILL RYAN left behind an enviable record of public service and devotion to the causes in which he believed.

BILL RYAN often faced overwhelming opposition to his views and yet he never was deterred. He never lost faith. Indeed, perhaps one of his most outstanding characteristics was his ability to disagree with tenacity and intensity, and yet never be considered to be disagreeable. This is truly the mark of a man.

The last example of his complete dedication and determination was that day last month when he got up from his sick bed in New York City, and traveled to Washington to cast his vote on an issue he felt critical.

Although fighting for his health for several years—another battle he was to lose—BILL RYAN never let down on his work. He spent every ounce of his strength in behalf of his beliefs and in personal assistance to his constituents.

Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN has gone, but we all are richer for his having passed our way. I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife and children, his parents and others in the Ryan family.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, all Members of the House of Representatives are deeply saddened by the untimely death of our esteemed colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM FITTS RYAN of New York. There is no Member to whom the term "Honorable" could be more suitably applied.

A distinguished legislator, a humanitarian, an effective battler for lonely causes, BILL RYAN knew no peer in his dedication to service and principle. He was the earliest opponent of the Vietnam war and to the end remained its stanchest critic. Had his words been heeded, many thousands of fine young American boys would be alive today and our Nation would not have squandered its wealth, spirit, and integrity on a forlorn and fallacious cause. BILL RYAN knew that the war was, at bottom, an affront to the dignity of man, and he did his utmost to end it and thus restore human decency in place of senseless slaughter.

Since my office was next door to him in the Cannon House Office Building, I had many occasions to observe BILL RYAN working tirelessly at hours when many other Members had long since departed for the day. As a comember of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I marveled at his immense understanding of the legislation that came before us, and his attentive interest to sound conservation practices for the benefit of all Americans.

Truly, BILL RYAN was a Member whose loss will be sorely felt in this House. He represented the ideal of a legislator whose independent thinking and judgment are brought to bear on issues of national importance. Never did he compromise on principle or bow to expediency. In his service, politics assumed a new proportion of integrity.

We can all take a lesson from his example of courage and ability, but we can never regain the crusading, idealistic spirit which he brought to this Chamber. That was unique to BILL RYAN whose memory we will long cherish.

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the House has lost one of its dearest souls. BILL RYAN and I came from different parts of the country, with different backgrounds, and in some areas, with different views of government. I have had many pleasant conversations with BILL, however, and never once did we have any disagreeable words. BILL RYAN never carried his legislative fights as personal battles against individuals. He was an ardent, progressive Congressman, and I suppose he was as near a reformer or crusader as anyone in the House. His views were sincere. He worked at his job as hard as any man in the House, constantly driving forward, pushing and shoving his bills and the measures he supported. He was always a gentleman.

We all must admit that BILL RYAN probably had as uncanny a foresight into things to come or changes that would come about as any man who has served in recent times in the House. He believed in changes and worked hard for them.

Not only has the House of Representatives and his own congressional district lost a friend, but the American people have lost a good friend BILL RYAN was the kind of person who will be remembered for what he stood for and what he did more than for what he said. He was a good man and a good Congressman.

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, our country and the House have just suffered a great loss in the untimely death of Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN of New York.

BILL RYAN was a Democrat, I a Republican, and we represented constituencies with great differences in opinions and background. As the years passed, I learned to know how very sincere and dedicated BILL RYAN was and how well he represented the interests of those he was privileged to represent. It was my good fortune to get to know him best through his very earnest efforts on behalf of better housing for the low-income and underprivileged groups in our economy.

He constantly pounded home, both on the House floor, and in appearances before our Special Subcommittee on Housing, the needs of those he represented and the great numbers of people in the country who were less fortunate than the majority.

I believe that all of my colleagues found him the same as I did, a man of complete integrity, honesty, sincerity and a great dedication toward accomplishing the best for all.

People say that BILL was a man with vision, that he was first on many issues, among them our military withdrawal from Vietnam. Well, it is one thing to have vision with nothing to lose, but it is another thing to have vision which could prove costly to oneself. BILL RYAN took stands that were unpopular, that could have hurt him, because he believed they were right and he had the courage to say so.

BILL was a real stand-up man who I feel had the respect of the Members of the House of Representatives. My deep sympathy goes to his family and I just hope that we in the House will never forget his fight for good legislation with no selfish results in mind.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked and saddened to learn of the sudden and untimely death of our colleague from New York, the Honorable WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, who had unselfishly and tirelessly served the people of his district, New York, and the Nation for 12 years in Congress.

BILL RYAN began his public service as assistant district attorney in the district attorney's office of New York County. He later pioneered the establishment of Democratic reform groups on New York's West Side.

A conscientious representative of the people, he maintained one of the best attendance and voting records in the House until the time of his final illness and was consistently prepared on the issues of House debate. BILL RYAN courageously fought for that in which he believed. He was the first Member to declare open opposition to the Vietnam war and had persisted in that opposition. In the forefront of medicare extension, efforts to curb the use of chemical additives in food and the use of lead-based paint which endangers the lives of those children who might ingest it, and civil rights legislation, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN remained the progressive reform candidate he had been when first elected to the 87th Congress.

I shall miss our interesting conversations while awaiting votes in the Speaker's Anteroom. I extend my sympathy to his wife and children at this time of their great personal grief.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, it was with deep sadness that I learned of the death of our esteemed colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

He was a deeply dedicated and sincere legislator who fought with skill, vigor, and intense conviction for those causes and issues he believed in. While often in disagreement with BILL RYAN's views, I always yielded to his sincerity of purpose and respected his deep belief in the positions he advocated.

After serving with distinction during World War II as an officer in the Field Artillery overseas, he became an outstanding prosecutor in the office of the New York district attorney. Following election to Congress in 1960, BILL gained a reputation as one of the hardest working members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. When later assigned to the Committee on the Judiciary, he contributed significantly to shaping much of the important legislation reported out by that committee.

BILL RYAN was a warm and friendly man who could disagree with a colleague, but never be disagreeable. He was truly a gentleman, and won the affection and esteem of all who knew him.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife and children, and other members of the family.

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to pay tribute to our late colleague and good friend, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN. I knew him well, and I liked him. Like so many others, I admired him for his conviction and his dedication. And that is a tribute paid him by friend and foe alike.

I will miss his presence in these Chambers. He was really just beginning his work when he died, but this is a better place for his having been here. I express my deepest feelings of sorrow and regret to his wife and his family.

The House of Representatives today named Gateway National Seashore in his honor. It will be known as William Fitts Ryan Gateway National Seashore. It was the right thing to do. Gateway is a fitting memorial to a man whose interests were with the people, first, last and always.

The late Congresman initiated the project and worked relentlessly to make it a reality. It is pure irony that he is not here to see his work come to fruition.

It is appropriate that BILL RYAN's memorial be bright, associated with the better things in life. He was that way. Still a young man at his untimely death. Mr. RYAN was a leader, often described as "ahead of his time." That was true. Much of what he advocated was novel, ahead of its time. He did the right thing by instinct, and was relentless in its pursuit. Some critics said he saw things as 100-percent right or 100-percent wrong, would not compromise, could not be induced to relax and found it impossible to delegate authority.

To that his response was "Is that a criticism?"

Because of this unswerving dedication to what he believed in, BILL collected a lot of lumps along the way. Some saw him as an outsider, and told him so. But to no avail. He spoke out of sincerity and conviction. He was uniformly respected for it.

Beyond that tribute, the genuine respect of his colleagues, naming Gateway in his honor will cause millions of people who use those facilities to recall WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, and the dedication he brought to making the National Seashore possible. They will remember a man who cared.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join with my fellow Members of the House of Representatives in

expressing my deep regret and personal sadness at the passing of our good friend and colleague, Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

BILL RYAN was considered by some as a man "ahead of his times." But, I personally feel is he is more aptly described as a man who was not afraid to change with the times—even if it meant initiating the change himself.

Not a man to find comfort in the security of numbers or the knowledge that his views were generally accepted, he was, many times, the "first" to challenge established policies and to propose in their place unpopular, and seemingly radical, alternatives. During the years when "liberal" thinking was not in vogue, BILL RYAN was always a leading spokesman for liberal causes. He was a man of great vision and insight who was keenly attuned to change in a swiftly and everchanging world, and his unselfish dedication and untiring efforts for human betterment have been responsible for much reform and social progress.

It has been an honor and an inspiration to have served in the House with a man of such unusual foresight and courage. In paying heartfelt sympathy. I hope that the knowledge their loss is shared that we owe it to ourselves and the people of this country to follow his fine example and never become complacent or fear change.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, in the years I have served in the House, no thoughts or emotions have been harder to express, no words have been more difficult to form than those I speak today.

I learned of BILL RYAN'S death in Huntington, W. Va., while I was traveling with Senator George McGovern. The pain of this devastating news was relieved somewhat, because I learned it from an old and dear friend of both of ours from young Democrat days, Paul Wieck.

No tribute has been more deserved. No memorial has been more nobly earned than that which we render the memory of our colleague, BILL RYAN.

To his lovely wife, Priscilla, and to his family, we extend our most heartfelt sympathy. I hope that the knowledge their loss is shared by those of us who worked with, loved, and admired this courageous and righteous giant of a man, is of some comfort to them.

Virtue, righteousness, courage, and gentleness, terms we do not often see applied to 20th-century man must be used when remembering BILL RYAN.

BILL RYAN was a dear friend. Our relationship dates back to 1957 and the National Convention of Young Democrats, when the "reform" Young Democrats led by BILL RYAN were challenging the seating of the then, DeSapio "organization" group. Our efforts to achieve this goal narrowly failed. Little did I know then, that this was to be the beginning of a warm and deep personal friendship between BILL and me. To me, he was a symbol of all that is good and noble in American political life.

In this Chamber, he voted his conscience when time and time again that conscience made him the one against the many. He served the cause of human dignity, the cause of peace, the twin causes of economic and social justice with the last ounce of energy he possessed.

BILL RYAN's first vote in this House was a vote for human dignity and justice when he voted to deny funds to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Just a few weeks ago, despite the expressed concern of his staff and family and the urging of some of us that he remain in bed and conserve his strength, BILL RYAN again demonstrated his deep commitment to human dignity and justice by leaving his sick bed and making the difficult journey to Washington to cast his last vote—one to end the war in Vietnam.

I am richer, this House is richer, because BILL RYAN walked among us. The emotions which I feel today defy reduction to words. I personally pledge to honor his memory not with words, but by continuing the struggle for peace and justice with which the name BILL RYAN is synonymous.

Euripides said:

> When good men die, their goodness does not perish but lives though they are gone.

BILL RYAN was a good man. BILL RYAN was a man of wisdom, compassion, and love. He has touched the lives of many citizens from the deltas of Mississippi to the battlefields in Vietnam, from the West Side of New York to the Hall of this Congress. BILL RYAN will live on in the hearts and minds of all who knew him.

I could say more as recollections of my association with this giant of a man flood my mind, but I will close this most deeply felt tribute with words from Shakespeare which so aptly apply to BILL RYAN:

He gave his honours to the world again.
His blessed part to heaven, and sleeps in peace.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House of Representatives passed a bill to create the Gateway National Seashore in the States of New York and New Jersey. This park will be named in honor of our late colleague from New York, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

BILL RYAN was one of the original sponsors of this measure, and it was due to his effective leadership and tireless energy that this legislation has now been approved. It is, therefore, most appropriate that this urban recreational center be named in BILL RYAN's honor.

BILL RYAN was loved and respected by both his colleagues here in Congress and by the people of his district.

We are all familiar with his record in Congress and his efforts with respect to legislation to improve the quality of life for all Americans.

His relationship with the people in his district was unique and I would like to share with you impressions of that relationship that appeared recently in the Village Voice. Jack Newfield accompanied BILL RYAN on a walk through his district and the following is Newfield's account of that walk:

In June I walked the length of his district with him, and watched the love remain constant as the neighborhoods changed. The people coming out of nice homes in Riverdale to wave and say hello, and the Irish in Inwood greeting him with warmth and comradeship, and then the blacks in Harlem remembering everything he did before civil rights became fashionable, and everything he did after blacks became unfashionable. Around Columbia and on the West Side RYAN was mobbed as if he were giving out free bagels from Zabar's. And then into Hell's Kitchen and Chelsea, where the white poor and the Puerto Ricans stopped their street games to cheer RYAN on.

On Monday morning, the bent old people sitting on the benches of Broadway shared their memories of RYAN, and in Congress his colleagues made speeches about how far ahead of his time RYAN was.

Mr. Speaker, BILL RYAN was a rare individual, and I am pleased that the Gateway National Seashore, for which he worked so intensely, will be a lasting memorial in his honor.

Like my colleagues in Congress, I am proud to have known BILL RYAN and to have served with him.

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on September 24, 1972, I attended and participated in ceremonies at Canarsie Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., in recognition of "Jamaica Bay Day" in New York State. The ceremonies were particularly timely in light of action this week by the House of Representatives approving by an overwhelming vote a bill to establish the William Fitts Ryan National Park.

This landmark legislation will preserve and protect the natural resources of Jamaica Bay and other land near the entrance to New York Harbor for the benefit of future generations. The House of Representatives changed the proposed name of this recreation area from Gateway Park to the William Fitts Ryan National Park, a most appropriate step in light of the tireless efforts of our late colleague in support of this and many other environmental measures. As a cosponsor of the bill, I am quite pleased that the national park will carry the name of our most distinguished and dedicated former colleague.

At the ceremonies this past weekend, I had the pleasure of introducing Mrs. Ryan and the Ryan family to those in attendance. Following those introductions, we heard an inspiring eulogy to WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, delivered by his former congressional assistant and friend, Mr. Myron Cohen. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I place in the Record the full text of Mr. Cohen's remarks and eulogy to our late colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN:

When people talk about BILL RYAN they remember many things. They remember that he was never afraid to stand alone when he knew he was right. Thus, he was often ahead of his time in such issues as civil rights, peace, middle and low income housing, and of course, the protection of the environment.

Some of us see these as separate issues, each righteous and just. BILL RYAN saw them as just one issue. His was a political career with a singular and all-consuming purpose. He was dedicated to the principle that we should all enjoy a life of quality, dignity and beauty.

Gateway was another battle he fought to improve our lives. Here the urban dweller can come and find recreation, natural beauty, and rest.

BILL RYAN saw the Gateway area as offering us a new and rare opportunity—The opportunity of creating a national recreation area open to millions of urban dwellers who have been barred by distance and by economics

from access to our national parks system. To him Gateway was more than a vast assemblage of water and sand, more than just a way to preserve and enhance the ecology of the area. His vision was an accessible unspoiled area at which millions of persons who were tied to asphalt pavements could come and enlarge their experience and enrich their lives.

In the New York Metropolitan region there are more than 19 million people. By the year 2000 there will be some 30 million. BILL RYAN saw Gateway as their national park. A park for the millions not fortunate enough to be able to afford summerhomes, long vacations, or expensive trips to our great western preserves. He saw it as a park for the millions of disadvantaged whose summer recreation resources are now limited to an open fire hydrant or a crowded neighborhood pool. He saw it as a park for the middle income families now excessively charged for private recreation facilities. He knew that for the urban child, preserving our wilderness areas in Wyoming or Colorado had little meaning. That child would still be left to the hot summer streets of his neighborhood. And BILL RYAN acted in his uniquely tenacious way to help bring about Gateway for that child.

BILL shared the view of Interior Secretary Walter Hickel that "We have got to bring the natural world back to the people rather than have them live in an environment where everything is paved over by concrete and loaded with frustration and violence."

When BILL RYAN saw an opportunity to correct an injustice or to improve people's lives, he never passed it by. He would organize and act as no one else could. He had the unique quality of getting people to accomplish things they thought impossible. Thus great achievements surrounded his brief but full life. His final achievement was Gateway or, as I hope it will be known, the William Fitts Ryan National Park. We have all been touched by BILL RYAN, we know it, and we are better for it. And we shall remember him.

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the death of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, New York City has lost a Congressman of courage and the House has lost a distinguished legislator.

Seeking words which I believe would best befit his character, his ability, his courage, and his compassion, I would choose these: WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was a foremost American, a foremost man. When he had to stand alone, he stood alone. When his voice was crying out and giving from the heart, to speak to the principles in which he believed—principles of peace, of justice, of dignity—it did not matter to BILL RYAN that his was the only voice that spoke; it mattered that the message was sincere and that the issue had to be raised.

BILL RYAN came to this Congress as well prepared as any man who ever entered this Chamber. My colleague from New York (Mr. Pike) has related to his career of academic distinction.

In the law, as he learned to love the law, BILL RYAN had served with great promise in what some have called the finest law office for justice in our country, the district attorney's office of New York County under District Attorney Frank Hogan. In that office I have learned from many of his colleagues who served with him that he was outstanding, that his knowledge and ability were surpassing.

Hence he came here prepared to know the law, to write the law, and to improve the law for all people.

I do not believe it needs to be stated over and over again that he was a foremost man, because before most of us—in fact, before any of us—he began with one voice to try to teach the people of this country what he believed to be the error of our ways. Whether it be in the organization of our political system, so that more could benefit from that system, he was before most of us. Whether it be on the need for peace—true generation of peace, if you will, a lasting peace—he saw that nonviolence was the road we had to travel. He was, foremost, before most of us.

We worked together in many campaigns in New York City, in New York State, and for this country, and BILL was always on the winning side, no matter how the votes were counted.

I believe we all know now his support of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy—and he was an early supporter of both—proves he was on the winning side, no matter what was the result of the vote as it was counted.

He was on the winning side, the side that must and will win, on the great issues of our times—on the need for more equality in housing, the need for decent standards in employment, and the application of nondiscrimination to government policies. That became the winning side. It is the law today.

BILL was among the first to raise that issue, before most of us—before any of us, in terms of the amendment he sponsored.

He was unflagging in his determination to seek justice, to see justice triumph through the Halls of Congress.

It is quite correct that he had to labor hard to get to a place where he could be effective, but in the Judiciary Committee it is well known that he earned his place in that committee and contributed greatly to the great record of that committee in these later years.

There may be a memorial which we can raise to BILL RYAN. He dedicated his years lately to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where I served with him, to the hopes that the people of his great city; in fact, the people of our great country who live around the eastern seacoast could participate in great recreational opportunities through the Gateway National Seashore. That is the Ryan bill, and I hope we can expedite consideration of that bill. I recall that on a previous occasion when we lost Representative Clem Miller of California, we provided that when the Point Reyes National Seashore was created, we made appropriate recommendations that it would in some way serve as a memorial to Representative Miller of California. I would hope that in the same way with Gateway that we could do something about it in memory of BILL RYAN. But, no memorial, monument, nothing that we could create here is really going to carry to the children of BILL and Priscilla Ryan—in fact, to all of the children, young people, the elderly, the people of America, the people of New York City, the people of all worlds, the true measure of BILL RYAN. That remains yet to be written. It will be written when all of our people know peace, know justice, eliminate discrimination and fully participate in the dream of America.

BILL died in pursuit of that dream; he did not lose it. BILL RYAN in a real way did not lose his life; he won his most recent battles. The record will show he has won most of his battles for justice even when he was a lonely voice raised in its behalf. I say, he did not lose his life; he gave it away. He gave it to the people of the United States of America. It is ours to honor, to cherish and to remember for the love of God and His peace and His justice and His mercy.

To the Ryan family, BILL's parents, Priscilla, and the children, Helen and I and our family extend our admiration and our sympathy.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, we were saddened last week to learn of the passing of our friend and colleague, Congressman WILLIAM

Fitts Ryan. All of us who knew him admired Congressman Ryan for his keen intelligence and strong dedication to his beliefs, but most of all for his remarkable courage and stamina in the face of declining health.

Recently I received a copy of a letter sent by Congressman Ryan's constituents to his widow. Because this letter sums up the affection and admiration they felt for this man, I am inserting it, at their request, in the Record and calling it to the attention of my colleagues:

The Community League
of West 159th Street, Inc.,
New York, N.Y., September 19, 1972.

Mrs. William Fitts Ryan,
New York, N.Y.,

Dear Mrs. Ryan: We mourn the loss of our beloved Congressman, William Fitts Ryan because:

He set a standard and kept it high. He found his task and tried very hard to do it. He lent a hand wherever he could. He stuck to the fight (whatever capacity), when he was hardest hit—for he felt it was no time to quit. He gave us inspiration in our struggles throughout the years.

"We do believe that there is no unbelief whoever plants a seed beneath the sod and waits to see it push away the clod—He trusts in God".

For the length of time when he has been a Congressman, whenever we needed his guidance and assistance, help was always provided.

It was in 1962 when we discussed our community drug problem with him. We continued to bring these problems to his attention, i.e. housing problems, the recognition of this area in need of Antipoverty funds. In 1965 when he placed on a city-wide slate his selection as a running mate, Dr. Ann Arnold Hedgman, the first time in New York political history, an Afro American woman, or any woman a selection was made.

His keen sense of humanity which we observed, bringing to the Congress, the area of human needs which only he felt and was brave and courageous enough to bring to the attention of the House of Representatives. He had a sense of feeling for the ordinary and the poor. There were many other such demonstrations of his courage, his conviction, his depth of concern for humanity regardless of race, color or creed.

For these many deeds, we mourn, and we can never forget the epitome of greatness which we had the privilege of experiencing by knowing and working with this hero.

Respectfully yours,

Betty Childs,
President.

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, all of us are saddened by the death of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

As has been mentioned by many Members, BILL RYAN was a man of vision, a man who continually espoused causes long before they were popular. In 1969 BILL and I worked together on one of these issues, the National Living Income Program Act. Later, the family assistance program, which has passed the House on two occasions, incorporated the basic idea of our plan.

For those of us who shared BILL's deep commitment to ending our country's involvement in the Vietnam war, his determination to participate in the vote on section 13 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972 last August, despite his illness, was, and will be, a source of encouragement until we reach that goal.

Mr. Speaker, our recent action to rename the Gateway National Recreation Area in BILL's memory recognizes only in a very small way the debt owed him by his constituents and by all our people. The future certainly will expand this recognition as many more of BILL's proposals become programs which enrich the life of this Nation.

Mrs. Whalen joins me in extending our sympathy to the Ryan family.

May BILL rest in peace.

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was a man whose courage was as mighty as his convictions. This legislative body and our Nation have lost a great champion of human rights and civil liberties. BILL RYAN was a man of tremendous conscience and, because he often dissented from prevailing mores and espoused causes that were unfashionable or even unpopular, he has been properly called a man ahead of his time.

I join my colleagues who have already expressed their sorrow over the loss of this man of compassion and humility. We will miss BILL RYAN for his friendship, his progressive thinking, and for his relentless pursuit of the truth for the benefit of us all.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to write "in memoriam" of friendship, of many legislative battles waged side by side, some won, many lost. It is often true that we never fully understand our feelings about close friends until their loss is felt. The

loss of BILL RYAN is one deeply felt for Congressman WILLIAM FITTS RYAN was that rare man who often seemed to be an outsider, a lonely man of conscience, but who was, in fact, one of the great leaders of our time.

He stood at the forefront of many of the most important movements of the past decade. He always indicated what he believed to be right; he acted upon those convictions; and the Congress and the country followed his lead and his example. From the present perspective it is easy to remember the final triumphs of men like BILL RYAN, but it is far more difficult to recall the first stands and the hard-fought battles along the way.

In 1961, he was one of four Members of the House of Representatives to speak out against the dangerous powers of the House Un-American Activities Committee and to urge and initiate action to cut off funds for that committee. A year later, he was one of only two Members to oppose such authorizations. Just last week, this House voted for the first time to restrict the unacceptable regulatory powers of the House Internal Security Committee, HUAC's successor, which continues to pose the threat to civil liberties that BILL RYAN warned of 11 years ago and never ceased to guard against.

Long before it was considered acceptable, or even fashionable, prior to the heyday of civil rights, much less "radical chic," BILL journeyed to the South and marched in Albany, Ga., in 1962. He went as a man, a single figure, not as one of several Congressmen, not as a member of a group for solidarity. Any publicity he received at that time could not have been politically beneficial, but he knew where his convictions lay and he indicated the way. He continued to march elsewhere, bringing home the issues to the floor of the House of Representatives where no Congressman could evade them.

He put the choice squarely before us during the organization of the new Congress in 1965. Leading the challenge to the seating of the Mississippi delegation, he charged that they were not the democratically elected representatives of the people of the State. For months the question dragged on, highlighting the inequities in voting systems not only in Mississippi, but across the South. The Mississippi delegation was finally seated, with a substantial 140 dissenting votes, but BILL RYAN's point was well made. The Voting

Rights Act of 1965, guaranteeing the fundamental, democratic right to vote for all citizens, was passed and became law.

In 1963, when Southeast Asia was virtually unknown to most Americans, he was the first to speak out against the war in Vietnam. The agony he suffered over that war has touched most of us in recent years and the warning that he gave still haunts us in 1972.

As a member of the Subcommittee on Space, BILL RYAN sounded another danger signal. He was the sole voice to point out the boondoggles in the space industry and to blow the whistle on lack of provisions for the safety of astronauts. A few weeks later, his words were tragically proved correct when three astronauts burned in their capsule on the launching pad.

BILL RYAN's courageous voice and his dedicated efforts supported a wide variety of legislation from the prevention of lead-based paint poisoning to ending the Vietnam war, from the establishment of Gateway National Seashore to the protection of civil rights for women and for minorities. Fired by his spirit and needled by his conscience, we in the House witnessed these problems as they grew from small, unknown causes to great national issues.

The example of WILLIAM FITTS RYAN will stand as a constant reminder of the contribution a Congressman with steadfastness of purpose and high moral character can make to his constituents and to his country.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, let me speak as one who has lost a personal friend, a friend who was a comfort and a joy to those of us who were close to him. BILL was one of the original members of the Group, a loose-knit organization of House Members which worked for good issues and good legislation. The purpose of the Group was to offer leadership in areas of controversy, on issues "too hot" for most elected officials. We held conferences—on Vietnam before there was any vocal opposition, on the power of the Pentagon, the Pentagon papers. After each conference we published a book on the subject, each of which sold many thousands of copies throughout the Nation, with the proceeds going to pay for the next conference. BILL RYAN took his turn as chairman of the Group, offering his leadership and inspiration to all of us.

Mr. Speaker, I will miss BILL as a political leader and colleague who made congressional life more meaningful, but most of all I will

miss him as a dear friend who offered sustenance and comfort to those of us in Congress fortunate enough to be closely associated with him.

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, my dear friend and colleague, WILLIAM F. RYAN, left us in Congress in just the courageous way in which he always performed on the many occasions when he was the foremost champion for human causes in the House.

He came from his hospital in New York to cast his "aye" vote to "set the date" of war's ending in Vietnam. He poured out the last ounce of effort in that final venture of his career. It was exactly the gallant style of his final challenge to fate that typified every encounter of his career.

Because he was a champion of minorities seeking rights that are not altogether popular, BILL was more often than not at a disadvantage upon the floor of the House.

He would accost the chairman in charge of the debate and ask for "time"—that precious commodity set down as a minimum for debate on each bill. Chairmen prefer to allot "time" to their friends and those whose views are "right." Sometimes accorded adequate "time," sometimes not, BILL seized what was granted and made the very most of it.

Sitting in the House, waiting for his "time" in debate to come, BILL was struggling constantly to perfect his text. It was never quite perfect enough. Crossing out words, reaching for references in the Congressional Record, consulting colleagues, BILL fought for the right words, just as he fought for the underdog and would fight for high principles when his turn came at last in debate.

I cannot ever remember BILL RYAN merely sitting and listening in the chairs of the House. He was always struggling, appealing, denouncing, or declaring.

After the last words of debate, in which BILL was more often than not, the final debater, accorded the last small grant of time, came the amending process under the 5-minute rule.

Under the 5-minute rule, it is easier to secure that amount of time if you offer an amendment. BILL never failed to produce an amendment to counter any flaw or loophole or wrongdoing that was written into a bill concerning health, labor, education, civil rights, black mi-

norities, young people, children, the aged, the lame, the halt, and the blind. He was their champion. Known the Nation over as one for unfortunate people to rely upon, he was the man they sought for redress of grievances and relief from oppression. BILL RYAN's passing is a defeat for the best causes in America today, and it comes at a time when we needed him most.

In a personal way, the loss of BILL RYAN is difficult for me. He was a guide and a mentor, since his seniority was greater than mine. He set the example that I have tried to follow, in a slight measure, for seeking the scarce debate time, for offering amendments that may not pass but do make a record of the issue.

BILL RYAN showed me many kindnesses, one time a very special and personal hand-up for my ailing son. Numerous times he has come to my aid in our congressional work.

In the minds of many of us, his colleagues, as we list our names on bills we are sponsoring, resolutions we are submitting and protests we are making, BILL RYAN's name will still be there among ours.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, no one can capture the essence of a man in a few words. Eulogies and memorials are very rarely anything more than ceremony, armed with sincerity but inadequate to serve as more than a recapitulation of past history.

Certainly, this is so as I speak of BILL RYAN. He was a unique Congressman. He was a unique man. And I cannot hope to adequately convey this to those who may some time in the future read these words. But, I can try to in some measure note the mark of this man, so that others will hopefully perceive the extent of our loss, and realize the magnitude of the standard which he has set.

BILL RYAN was unique because he would not compromise. He was imbued with a perpetual sense of outrage, which kept him fighting when the battle was clearly lost. He simply could not accept injustice or inequity; he could not settle for slow and meager progress.

BILL knew that he was not going to turn the Congress around overnight on the war, or on civil rights, or on civil liberties. He knew, when he annually was in the forefront of opposition to HUAC, that the votes were just not there. He knew, when he voted against the first appropriation bill for the war in 1965, that a majority, were it ever to exist, was indeed not with him then.

Yet, he insisted on going his way. More than that, he insisted on leading—in the directions of justice and fairness and peace—because he could not settle for less, and he would not let anyone else settle for less.

Perhaps, in stating these words, I make BILL sound obstinate, stubborn. He was. He clung to his course despite the counsels to go slow. He insisted on speaking out when he knew that to do so might embarrass others less willing to be equally forthright. For him there really was no other option. Misery or inequity, if not opposed, was thereby condoned.

How does one adequately convey this quality of this man? I do not know. I do know, though, that BILL RYAN stood for integrity without caveat or exception. He was guided by his conscience and his compassion, when these two confronted pragmatism, there was no question which would guide his voice and his vote.

A man who once worked for BILL wrote recently, in the September 28 issue of the Village Voice, something very close to what I, too, saw in BILL:

> For years, using a parliamentary gimmick, he single-handedly kept the House Dixiecrat establishment from passing a bill to name a VA hospital after Rankin (or was it Bilbo?) on the ground that this would dishonor black and Jewish vets. . . . It was moves like that, which could do a Member no earthly good whatever except to keep himself at peace with his conscience, that made BILL inexplicable to most of his colleagues.
>
> That was BILL RYAN, a man of stubborn principle and absolute integrity. It didn't strike me as remarkable that he should be so, at the time I was working for him. He was just my boss, human and sometimes infuriatingly single-minded. Only years later, after I'd come to know political Washington better, did I understand how rare it was that this humane and decent politician should be exactly what he professed to be, nothing more, nothing less.

This single-minded integrity is what so many people saw in BILL RYAN. Nat Hentoff, writing in the same issue of the Village Voice, said:

> His death takes the top name from that very small list of people I cite when asked by students to name someone in politics who hasn't sold part of himself along the way in order to stay in office.

Some might say that BILL RYAN's stubborn integrity limited his effectiveness. When Members junior to him were chairing subcom-

mittees in this bastion of success-through-seniority, BILL was still a junior Member on the committees on which he served. This he owed to his years of consignment to a committee which he little desired, and years of refusal to place him on those committees on which he deeply wanted to serve. Well, BILL owed that to his unremitting devotion to his principles, that is true. And he did in fact annoy some Members of this august body by his continuing demands for the goals he espoused, notwithstanding the country's disinterest in them. This body did not treat BILL RYAN well.

Yet, I think it is BILL RYAN who graced this body by his presence. He fought the battles others talked about, but failed to enter. He insisted upon the hard course of conscience, when others sought easier paths to follow. And, despite all, BILL RYAN loved this Chamber. BILL RYAN was hopelessly in love with democracy, and he had ultimate faith in the ability of this Congress to achieve good, notwithstanding all the proof to the contrary. His life was here, and it is fitting that his death be memorialized here.

So, BILL RYAN did not sacrifice effectiveness in vain. He demonstrated an effectiveness that few can claim. He proved that integrity and the political process need not be alien. He voiced the early warning against HUAC, and today its successor, the House Internal Security Committee, is largely a shell. He stood against the war in the early days, and today this country rejects that war, notwithstanding the Congress' failure to hear the country's voice. He marched and fought for equal rights for all, and today, in the deepest part of every one of us, we know that discrimination and prejudice, no matter how justified or rationalized, are evil.

The battles BILL fought just took longer to win than most, but they were the right battles to fight, and they will be won. In some measure, the New York Times editorial of September 19 caught this sense of BILL RYAN. Entitled "Apostle of Change," the editorial began:

> In a way that few public figures have been able to do, Representative WILLIAM F. RYAN took positions ahead of his time and patiently persuaded his constituency and elements of the larger society to follow him, winning the warm affection of an increasing circle of friends in the process. He was loved as an immensely sensitive and decent man.

Congressman RYAN liked to be called an "apostle of change" and, as such, he achieved remarkable success. He marched in the South at the side of the blacks burdened by discriminatory laws. He stood in the well of the House, a slight, frail figure with a broad, strong face, to oppose appropriations for the war in Vietnam. He eloquently exhorted Congress to protect both consumers and the environment. He did these things and others before they became the popular things to do.

Jack Newfield wrote, after BILL RYAN died, "Today it feels like someone has destroyed all the trees and grass on the West Side." We all are, indeed, the less for having lost BILL RYAN. So it is with heartfelt feelings that I and my wife extend our condolences to BILL's wife Priscilla, to his children, Bill, Jr., Priscilla, Virginia, and Katherine, to his parents and to his brothers.

BILL RYAN honored us all by his integrity. Hopefully, some day this Chamber can meet the standard he set.

PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *September 18, 1972.*

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on House Resolution 1119.

The Chair laid before the Senate House Resolution 1119, which was read as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1119

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM F. RYAN, a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of 18 Members of the House, with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution on behalf of myself and the senior Senator from New York and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The resolution (S. Res. 365) was read, as follows:

SENATE RESOLUTION 365

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM F. RYAN, late a Representative from the State of New York.

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. BUCKLEY. The death of Representative WILLIAM FITTS RYAN reminds us of the fact that there are human considerations that often transcend the political imperatives that play such an important part in our lives. I can think of no man in Congress with whom I shared fewer political beliefs than BILL RYAN; I can think of few whose qualities as a human being has commended such wide affection.

It is difficult, at times, to remember, in the heat of partisan controversy that an opponent is not an ideological abstraction but a flesh and blood creature, subject to the same passions and often the same prejudices as ourselves. Anyone who knew BILL RYAN knew that he was a man who was deeply devoted to his political principles, but who never let his ideological zeal for one moment interfere with his essentially and irrevocably decent approach to others. It is a measure of the respect he engendered in all who knew him, especially those with whom he disagreed, that he is deeply and genuinely mourned in Congress today.

My condolences go to the family of Representative RYAN. I think I speak for all of those who knew him when I say that he will be remembered as one who combined a fierce belief in his principles with an engaging, amiable personal quality that will long be remembered.

The senior Senator from New York regrets that he cannot be here to express his sentiments. He is detained because of the Jewish holidays which are being celebrated today.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I join in the sentiments expressed by the Senator from New York in connection with the loss of Representative RYAN. I knew Representative RYAN, and I want to express sympathy on this sad occasion. Both on behalf of myself and for members of my family.

We are grateful for all of the assistance that Congressman RYAN gave to my brothers. To President Kennedy, Congressman RYAN was a dedicated and faithful advocate for causes of justice, humanity, and equality.

To Robert Kennedy, BILL RYAN was always a friend and close adviser. I remember the many hours they spent campaigning together in 1964. And later, BILL gave my brother some of the strongest support he had in the 1968 campaign.

All of the time that I knew him, BILL RYAN blazed trails for other men to follow. Last year in Congress, he showed the courage he always had by standing firm against the antibusing tide on the floor of the House, thereby setting a magnificent example for all of us in the Senate.

We know his brilliant record on all the leading issues. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—the school desegregation title—is a tribute to the work of BILL RYAN in Congress. More than any other single person, he helped to rally the conscience of America against the brutal killings in Philadelphia, Miss., and to lay the groundwork for the most successful Civil Rights Act of them all.

He led the fight in 1962 against the House Un-American Activities Committee and its repressive tactics. He led the challenge in 1965 to the seating of the Mississippi delegation in the House.

He led the fight for prison reform and his life was interrupted as he fought vigorously for better health care.

He and I worked closely together in our long and successful fight for decent legislation to end the blight of lead-paint poisoning, and thereby protect the lives and health of thousands of children in countless cities throughout the Nation.

Above all, BILL RYAN was there at the beginning in 1965, when the earliest voices of protest were beginning to be heard in America against our deepening involvement in Vietnam. That is where BILL has always been, leading the fight for principles and the things that are right—seeing the issues, as they really are long before they are clear to others.

If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to music which he hears, however distant or far away.

Throughout his public career, BILL RYAN has followed that wise advice, and again and again the causes he has championed have been vindicated by the history of events.

The west side is strong today because you have able men like BILL to lead the way. He is the sort of Congressman every district needs. He knows the importance of government at the local level, and he knows the issues that really matter to the people. It is a pleasure to serve with him in Congress, and I wish we had more like him.

He was an extremely committed Congressman. He left his stamp on a host of major legislation. He was in the forefront of many of the great social battles in the House of Representatives many of which I shared his views.

He was a man of great capacity and great integrity and compassion for the people he represented.

I join the Senators from New York in expressing a very deep sense of loss to the members of Representative RYAN's family and to the people he served so well. All of us have lost an outstanding Member of Congress.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I was most grieved to learn this past weekend of the untimely death of Representative BILL RYAN of the 20th District of New York.

BILL RYAN and I came to Congress together in 1969, and it was an honor for me to serve with him during my four terms in the House of Representatives, and to continue to work closely with him on issues vital to our urban areas after I was elected to the Senate.

During the last two sessions, Congress has made significant progress in enacting measures to detect and treat lead-paint poisoning in children, a dread disease that strikes primarily in low-income and ghetto areas. Representative RYAN was one of the first to recognize the serious problem of lead poisoning from paint chips, and has been an important leader in getting Congress to act to provide treatment for children afflicted with the disease, and eliminate conditions in which lead-paint poisoning occurs.

Representative RYAN was a strong advocate for our cities. He understood the impact of technological progress on the people who live in increasingly crowded urban areas. He dedicated his public life

to making cities more livable, and to solving the complex problems of modern life that threaten to strangle our cities.

A man of conscience, a man of conviction, and a dedicated Congressman, BILL RYAN will be missed by all of us.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The Chair appoints the Senators from New York (Mr. Javits and Mr. Buckley) to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

ADJOURNMENT TO 8:30 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Madam President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 365, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Hon. WILLIAM F. RYAN, late a Representative from the State of New York, and in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 8:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 7:26 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, September 19, 1972, at 8:30 a.m.

TUESDAY, *September 19, 1972.*

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on the day of the most important religious holiday for my faith, yesterday, we heard in the Senate, and the country heard, of the passing of a colleague of mine from New York, affectionately known as BILL RYAN, who was a Member of the House of Representatives.

BILL RYAN was the Representative from the district which I had the honor to represent in the other body from 1947 to 1954, inclusive. Some years after I came to the Senate, BILL RYAN became Representative for that district.

I have worked with him closely on many matters, especially those which can best be described as dealing with the rights of man in terms of human decency, human compassion, and justice. I have never met a better motivated man.

Generally speaking, many of the things which he felt deeply about and undertook, I was in accord with him and deeply sympathetic toward. Where we differed, it was never in the heart, but always, in my judgment, as to what was the need for working out the problems of many interested people, in order to effect a result which Representative RYAN himself proposed to effect.

He undertook many unpopular causes. I know that district very well. He was not a bit afraid to do what some in the district might superficially have considered to be unpopular and then come back and convince them that he was right. I have done the same thing in that district in my day on some very difficult causes, including voting against bills which many people in the district thought they could never forgive a Congressman for voting against mainly involving civil liberties—in other days, when that subject was a hot one.

So I know the gratification which comes from convincing the people in such a district, made up of such a diverse population—diverse in my day and more so today; and the tremendous tribute to Congressman RYAN who represented that district as he did over a number of terms in Congress. He had the conviction, the conscience, and the political courage to lead as he did.

He was a tremendous benefactor to his people, many of whom were poor and in grave difficulties in that district, economically and socially, including many problems which afflict our time and afflict them monumentally.

Mr. President, I am stricken with deep sadness over his passing. My wife and I extend our most profound condolences to his family.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I deeply regret the death of our colleague, WILLIAM FITTS RYAN.

He was a man of ideals and integrity—a man whose ideas came to function.

His death is a loss to our Congress and to our Nation.

My admiration for him was immense, and, for that reason, I was glad to campaign for him in his district.

I extend my condolences to his wife and family, who have lost not only a wonderful husband and father, but a leader of our Nation. I ask, at this point, that an editorial published in the Washington Post be inserted in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

William Fitts Ryan

In the death of William Fitts Ryan, New York City has lost a congressman of courage and the House has lost a member who often had uncanny foresight. Mr. Ryan's political courage was displayed early on, when in the late 1950s he challenged the entrenched might on New York's Tammany Hall. The ferocity of Manhattan politics, especially when Democrats go to each other has ended many political careers before they began, but Mr. Ryan gambled successfully that the voters were tired of backroom manipulation. Once elected to the House, he continued taking risks by backing issues and ideas long before popularity made them safe. He called for admission of China to the U.N., spoke out against spending for nuclear arms and thought it foolish to renew funding for the House Un-American Activities Committee. Today, critics of the war are common, but few of the arguments they make now were not made years ago by Mr. Ryan. Though Mr. Ryan was often called by his critics a "wild-eyed" liberal, the turning of events suggests that his eye was not wild at all but well-controlled and excellent in vision.

In the June primary, Mr. Ryan won a spirited victory but the exhaustion of the campaign was apparently costly to his failing health. On the House floor following announcement of Mr. Ryan's death, his colleagues eulogized him for one and one-half hours, a deserved tribute. Another kind of tribute will also be made by some members: a renewal of efforts to continue practicing the political ideals William Ryan believed in.

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